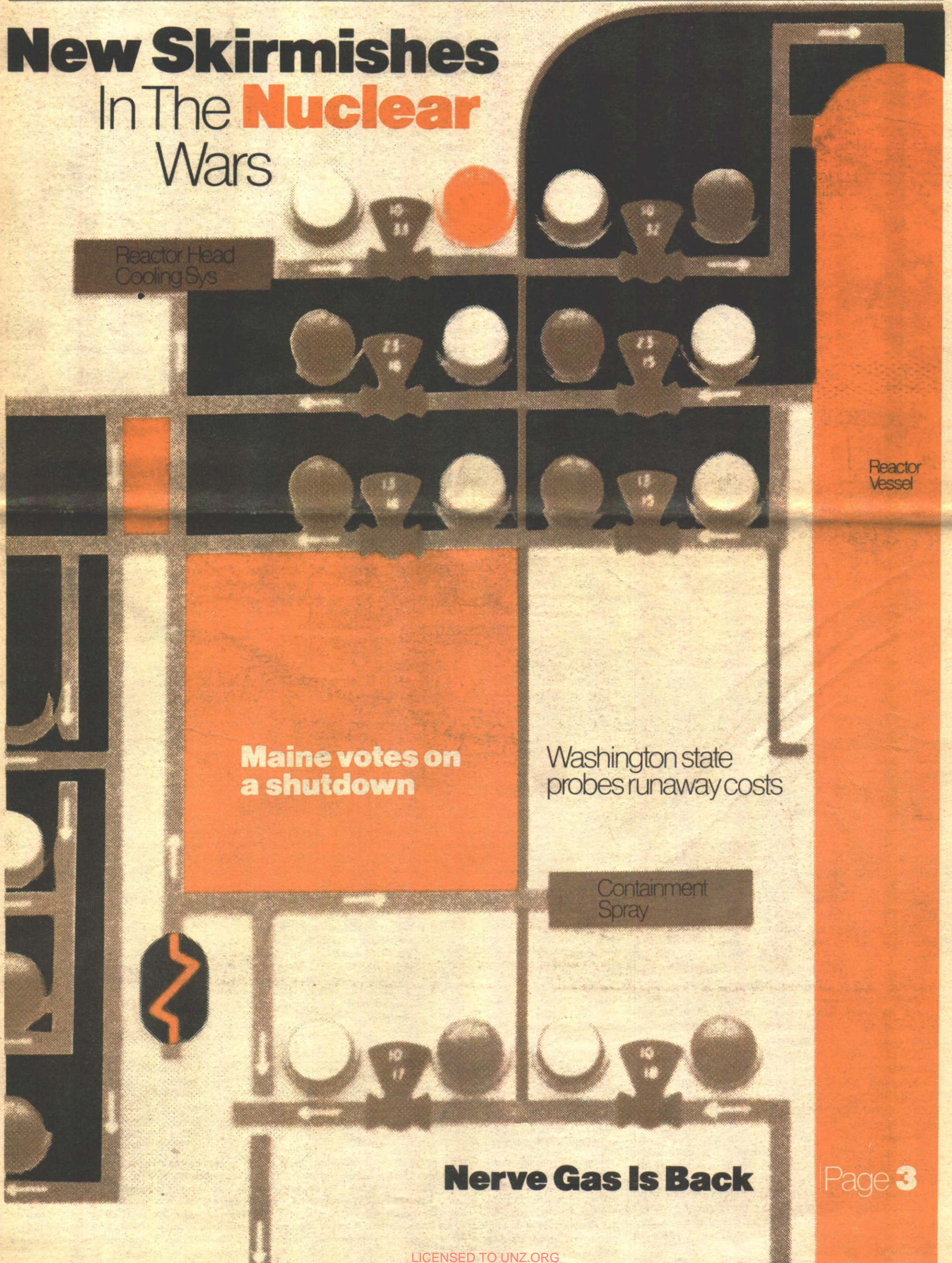




New Skirmishes In The **Nuclear** Wars



Reactor Head
Cooling Sys

Reactor
Vessel

Maine votes on
a shutdown

Washington state
probes runaway costs

Containment
Spray

Nerve Gas Is Back

Page 3

THE INSIDE STORY



Charles Walker

Reagan's advisers juggle "facts"

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

I don't think you can tell what the three candidates are going to do. In Mr. Reagan's case, it depends on who his advisers are, and who you can really trust. If he accepts one group that are considered to be pretty sane and sound, he's going to move ahead very substantially with the kind of tax programs we're talking about. If he accepts another group that doesn't have the same perception of soundness, I am not sure he's going to contribute much to this whole process.

—Rep. Jim Jones, before the American Council for Capital Formation's 1980 annual meeting

For at least a year, two groups of Republicans have been trying to win over Ronald Reagan. One group, led by Rep. Jack Kemp, former *Wall Street Journal* editor Jude Wanniski, and economist Arthur Laffer, has urged Reagan to propose massive regressive tax cuts as a means of encouraging economic growth. They argue that overall revenues will increase sufficiently from the growth in investment to offset the initial decline in tax revenue.

The other group of advisers, led by former Federal Reserve chief Arthur Burns, former Treasury secretary George Schultz, former head of the Council of Economic Advisers Alan Greenspan and former Treasury official Charles Walker, has argued that tax cuts should be aimed primarily at stimulating investment. They have rejected the Kemp-Wanniski-Laffer argument that massive tax cuts would make up for their own loss of revenue and have insisted that any tax cut must be accompanied by stringent proposals for reducing the growth in federal expenditures.

On its surface, this is an argument about economics in the narrowest sense. But it is also an argument about politics. The Kemp forces maintain that Republicans can pursue policies that directly benefit business while at the same time meeting traditional Democratic commitments to the poor and unemployed. For this reason, they even describe themselves as "populists." But the Burns-Greenspan forces are typical business conservatives. The needs of the poor and the unemployed impinge upon their consciousness only when they begin burning down private property.

During the early primary campaign, Reagan drew heavily on Kemp and Wanniski. Kemp was one of his principal spokesmen, and Wanniski wrote the renowned New Hampshire commercial in which Reagan concluded that "We have to move ahead, but we

can't leave anyone behind." But as the fall campaign—and the prospect of having to govern—neared, Reagan reduced the Kemp forces' influence to a rhetorical flourish in his campaign speeches and put himself increasingly under the direction of Burns, Greenspan *et al.* (In *These Times*, July 2). On Sept. 9, speaking before the International Business Council in Chicago, he gave the clearest signal yet that a Reagan administration would pursue "business as usual."

In Chicago, Reagan formally designated his chief economic advisers and released his "Strategy for Economic Growth and Stability in the 1980s." His advisers read like a who's who of the Nixon-Ford years: senior domestic adviser Martin Anderson, policy chairman Schultz, tax chairman Walker, regulatory reform chairman Murray Weidenbaum, inflation chairman Paul McCracken, spending control chairman Caspar Weinberger, and international monetary chairman Burns were prominent Nixon administration members. Budget chairman Greenspan and key adviser William Simon were Ford appointees.

Several of these advisers, including Anderson and Burns, reportedly wanted to drop the Kemp-Roth proposal from the strategy, but the majority of Reagan advisers, with Walker playing a prominent role, decided to retain the promise of across-the-board 30 percent tax cuts spread over three years, along with a steep drop in corporate taxes. With these tax cuts, they proposed a 2 percent yearly decrease in the levels of spending for 1981 to 1983 set out by the Senate budget committee this fall. According to the "fact sheet" that accompanied the speech, this spending decrease would lead to a balanced budget by 1983, even with the tax cuts and a 6 percent real annual increase in the defense budget.

The economic strategy reflects a political approach antithetical to that of Kemp and Wanniski. As Reagan explained during his Sept. 21 debate with John Anderson, tax cuts are a way of cutting the government's "allowance" and forcing spending cuts. These personal income tax cuts (from 70 percent to 50 percent in the rate for the upper tax bracket), combined with corporate tax cuts of \$20 billion, bring together the usual Republican coalition of corporate leaders and the upper-middle class.

Reagan cannot win an election based on this coalition alone, so in his Chicago speech he tried to allay the fears of the elderly and of blue-collar workers by promising that his economic strategy "does not require altering or taking back necessary entitlements already granted to the American people. The integrity of the Social Security system will be defended by my administration and its benefits will once again be made meaningful."

There is no reason to doubt Reagan's sincerity here, only his intelligence and the good will of his advisers. The briefest examination of his "fact sheet" reveals that there is no way he could meet his economic goals without substantially cutting back on key social expenditures.

Reagan's "fact sheet" says much about the candidate and the campaign. When *Newsweek* columnist Jane Bryant Quinn asked Reagan during the debate what his projections of inflation would be for his economic program, he referred her to the same "fact sheet." But the sheet does not contain its own projections for employment or inflation. It merely uses those of the Senate Budget Committee, which promises 7.5 percent inflation and 6.1 percent unemployment in 1985. With these kinds of prospects, who needs an economic strategy?

The Reagan fact sheet also performs the usual statistical acrobatics. It bases itself on the Senate's figures for growth, expenditures and revenue, which assume a

substantial tax cut in 1981, and then figures out the additional growth that would accrue from the Reagan tax cut without acknowledging that part of the benefits of the Reagan tax cut had already been included in the Senate figures. The growth figures are therefore exaggerated. But there are even deeper problems with the "fact sheet."

The Senate figures for budget increases over the next five years are typically spare. They do not include national health insurance or welfare reform, as the Carter projections have. The yearly increases are due to defense increases and the uncontrollable rise in interest payments on the national debt and in transfer payments (Social Security, disability and pension payments), which are pegged to the cost of living. Reagan wants to impose a 3 percent increase in defense spending on these figures (bringing the total increase to 6 percent) and a 2 percent total reduction in expenditures. In his speech and in subsequent interviews, he hasn't given any hint of where these cuts would come from. Adviser Walker, echoing vintage California Reagan, claims that they could come out of the "wasted money in the welfare programs as a result of people being on the welfare rolls that are not qualified," but this is simple demagoguery.

During the last 15 years, the proportion of the federal budget that increases yearly due to past legislation and appropriation has risen dramatically. A Federal Reserve study in 1978 put the average in the 1960s as about 45 percent of the budget and the amount in 1977 as about 70 percent. In its 1980 budget, the Carter administration estimated that 75 percent of its expenditures were uncontrollable. Any cut in spending would either require the passage of new laws—for instance, amending the Social Security Act—or would have to be drawn from the 25 percent of the budget devoted to such things as highways, water and sewage treatment, general revenue sharing, employment training and jobs programs, and new arms purchases.

Now in the Reagan plan there is an added wrinkle: defense expenditures would be increased 3 percent over the Senate figures while total spending must decrease 2 percent. With defense accounting for about a fourth of the federal budget, this means that non-defense spending would have to decline about 4 percent. Assuming that defense expenditures occupy the same proportion of controllable expenditures as they do uncontrollable, that means that this 4 percent reduction must be extracted from about a quarter of the non-defense expenditures. In terms of the Senate's figures for 1981, about \$20 billion must be cut from \$118.5 billion in social spending, or about 17 percent.

This is a huge chunk and cannot be accounted for by eliminating welfare cheaters. The Carter administration's already penurious budget for education, training, employment and social services—always a prime candidate for budget-cutters—only amounts to \$32 billion. To make good on its spending cuts and satisfy its natural constituencies—who would not abide huge cuts in highway spending—the Reagan administration would have to virtually eliminate these programs.

Would a Reagan administration do this? It's hard to say. During the course of his campaign, Reagan has shifted to the right or the left according to where the wind was blowing that day.

Earlier in the year, these changes in Reagan's *tabula rasa* took place within a framework defined by Kemp's "new right populism." Now they take place within a framework defined by the corporate vultures of the Nixon-Ford era. Will Reagan screw the poor? Don't ask Ron. Ask Alan Greenspan or George Schultz or Charles Walker.

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Congress O.K.s new nerve gas plant

By Robert Howard

WASHINGTON

WITH LITTLE DEBATE AND even less deliberation, the Congress has taken the first step toward dismantling 10 years of bipartisan government policy concerning the production of weapons for chemical warfare.

During one week in September, the House of Representatives overwhelmingly approved first \$3.15 million for the construction of a chemical weapons plant in Pine Bluff, Ark., and then another \$19 million for the production equipment to be housed inside it. The Senate, by a much closer vote, has also approved the construction money, and positive action on the equipment funds is expected soon.

The \$22 million package is only the first phase of what may eventually turn into a \$4 billion commitment to the production of chemical weapons. It is also the most vivid example to date of how the revival of Cold War rhetoric is distorting the legislative process.

The dismay of liberals in the Congress was best expressed by Edy Wilkie, director of the liberal legislative study group Members of Congress for Peace Through Law. "It's another kind of knee-jerk, right-wing issue—the Soviets are ahead of us," said Wilkie. "Out of nowhere, they got the money in just by saying, 'We're behind.'"

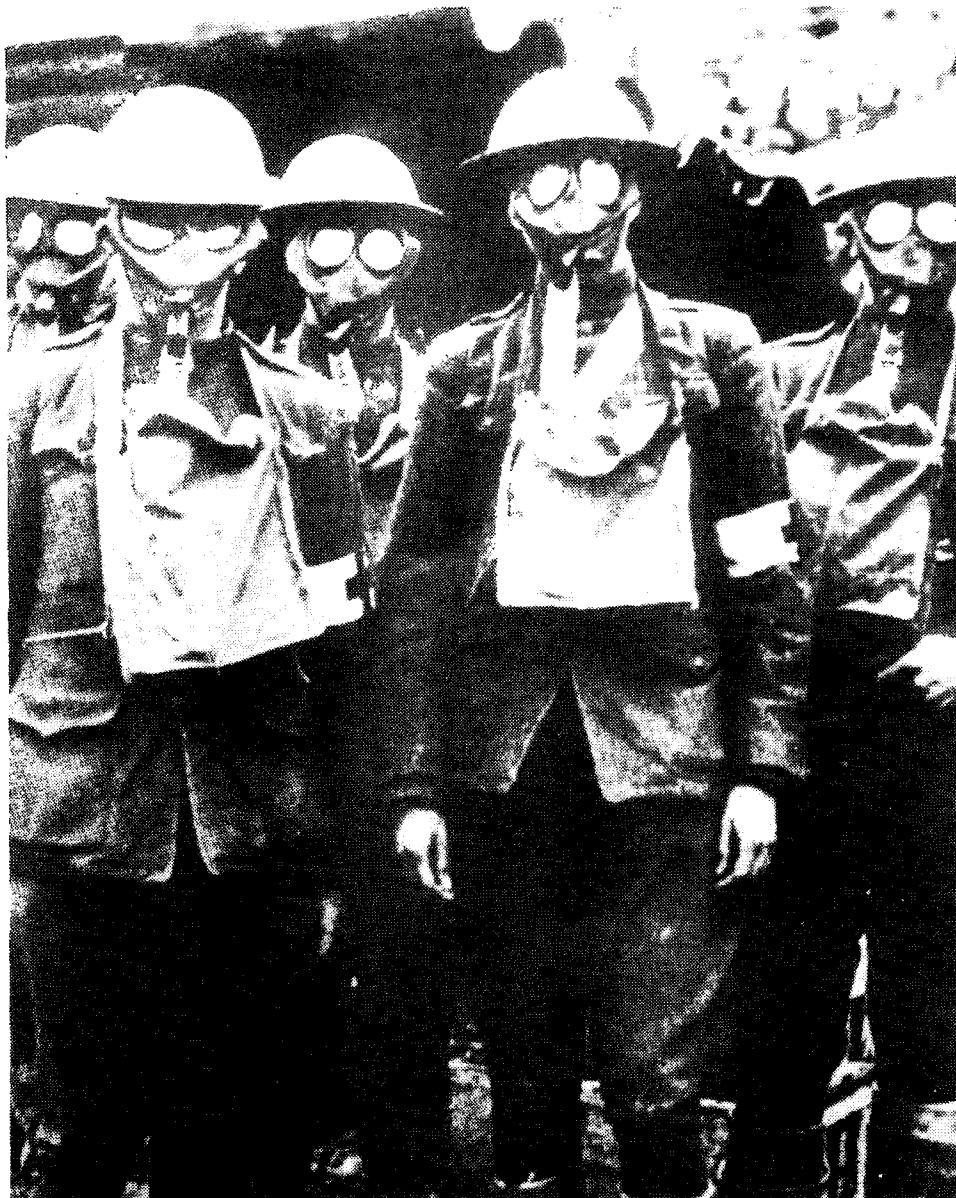
Chemical weapons have been in the news ever since the unconfirmed reports last winter that Soviet troops had used lethal nerve gas in Afghanistan. Proponents of the Pine Bluff plant say the only way to match the massive Soviet commitment to chemical weapons is to develop an offensive capability of our own. Opponents say that our already existing stockpiles are more than adequate, and that to build a new chemical weapons plant now would only stimulate a dangerous chemical arms race.

The only time chemical warfare has been waged extensively was during the First World War, and the extreme reactions to that experience throughout Europe led to the signing of an international treaty in Geneva in 1925 in which nations renounced the first use of chemical weapons. The Soviet Union signed the treaty in 1928, the U.S. in 1975.

But throughout the Cold War and well into the '60s, both the U.S. and the USSR produced vast quantities of nerve gas weapons—just how many is a sharp bone of political contention. In 1969, President Nixon suspended U.S. production, and the ban has been in effect ever since. Resumption depends on an executive order of the president. Since 1976, the U.S. and the USSR have been engaged in bilateral talks in Geneva to negotiate an official ban on further nerve gas production.

A new generation.

There are two kinds of substances in the U.S. nerve gas arsenal—"Agent GB," a liquid that becomes gas on contact with air and dissipates quickly, and "Agent VX," which remains in a liquid state and can contaminate an area for days. Lethal nerve gas attacks the central nervous system producing heavy sweating, hazy vision, uncontrollable vomiting and defecation, convulsions and paralysis. In the large majority of cases, death comes quickly because of asphyxiation from respiratory failure.



But the weapons that would be produced at the Pine Bluff facility are somewhat different from the previous generation of chemical weapons. Called "binary" weapons, they consist of two canisters of liquid, which mix to produce the lethal nerve gas only after the shell that contains them is fired. Binaries are easier to transport and safer to store than already activated chemical weapons. Supporters of Pine Bluff say they are the ideal replacement for our present nerve gas weapon stock—some of which are cased in deteriorating munitions and pose a dangerous threat of toxic leaks.

The Army has conducted research on lethal binary weapons since 1954, but the first announcement that it wanted to build a plant to produce them came in September 1973. Congressional hearings on nerve gas were held in 1974, at which time the Congress voted not to authorize the plant. This decision was reaffirmed over the next two years, and in January 1976, one of President Ford's last acts was to remove the Army request from his recommendations for the fiscal year 1978 budget.

The Carter administration regularly refused funding for Pine Bluff, most recently last winter when the nerve gas plant was killed by opposition in the State Department and the National Security Council. But Pentagon sources say that Defense Secretary Harold Brown favors the facility and an inter-agency review board organized by the NSC is currently reviewing administrative chemical warfare policy.

Congress, however, does not want to wait. Congressional hawks led by Representative Richard Ichord of Missouri and Senator Henry Jackson of Washington have orchestrated a concerted effort to float the Pine Bluff plant on the rising tide of pro-military sentiment inspired by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

And this \$22 million package is only Phase I of a four-phase army construction program. It will bankroll a weapons plant that will be able to produce some 20,000 155-millimeter shells per month filled with the ingredients for Agent GB. Phase II, costing another \$42 million, would triple the capacity of the Pine Bluff plant to 70,000 shells per month. Phase III would involve yet more assembly plants for Agent VX; price tag—\$100 million. And a fourth phase, about seven years down the road and still on the drawing board, would adapt binary chemical weapons to a multiple-launch rocket warhead.

These dollar figures are just to build the production facilities. Actual production of these weapons would cost another \$2 billion. And to deactivate the last generation of non-binary weapons would probably cost about the same.

It is hard to imagine a legislative debate more fraught with uncertainty and contradictory claims than that surrounding the appropriations for Pine Bluff. On the one hand, proponents trumpeted the necessity of strengthening U.S. offensive capability; on the other, they tried to reassure their colleagues, and avoid central policy questions, by emphasizing that the \$22 million will not actually produce any weapons.

Most of all, they filled the gaps in their argument with generous portions of resurgent Cold War rhetoric. In the House, Ichord blasted the "misplaced logic" that has "taken us from strategic superiority to parity to today... 'the edge of strategic inferiority.'" And in an article in the *Reader's Digest*, he described a lurid scenario for a European chemical war in which the "masked and goggled troops of the Red Army and its satellite forces" moved effortlessly through West German villages past the silenced tanks of a contaminated NATO army.

This sensationalism made any serious consideration of the complex issues surrounding the chemical warfare debate virtually impossible. For one, nobody really knows for sure how many chemical weapons the Soviets have. Estimates range wildly from 30,000 to 700,000 tons. Secretary Brown has stated that there is "no decent estimate."

Moreover, American and British experts dispute the claim of a massive growth in Soviet offensive capability. Soviet military resources devoted to chemical warfare have gone primarily for defensive measures. According to Julian Perry Robinson of Sussex University in England, "There is no evidence for any augmentation of the Soviet chemical weapons stock since around 1970, a year or two after the Americans stopped production." Nor is there any firm evidence to date of Soviet use of lethal nerve gas in Afghanistan.

"Keeping up with the Russians" also ignores the serious foreign policy implications of building the Pine Bluff plant. Deep cultural inhibitions against chemical warfare still exist in both Britain and West Germany. The U.S. Army currently stores some chemical weapons at its bases in Germany, but it is highly unlikely that the West German government would allow binary weapons to be added to the stockpile. And without European sites for such weapons, their value as a deterrent is greatly compromised.

Finally, the decision to build the Pine Bluff facility comes precisely at the moment when the four-year-old chemical warfare negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union finally seemed to be making important progress. Last July, the Soviets agreed to the principle of on-site inspection of chemical weapons plants. The procedures for implementing this agreement are still to be worked out. A decision by the U.S. to construct new facilities at this time could jeopardize the Geneva talks.

But the vote in favor of the Pine Bluff munitions plant had less to do with the merits of the case than with skillful legislative maneuvering and simple ignorance. Ichord assiduously shepherded the plant funds through the House in a manner that minimized information and debate. The provisions were always introduced as amendments to complicated budgetary bills. There were no hearings in the House and only one closed hearing in the Senate. According to an aide to Rep. Toby Moffet (D-Conn.), who introduced an amendment on the floor against the \$19 million equipment appropriation, "two minutes before the vote, staffers were calling me saying, 'My boss doesn't even know what a binary weapon is.'" The Moffet Amendment was defeated, 276 to 125.

Opponents in the Senate came far closer to killing one facet of the \$22 million package. Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.) proposed an amendment delaying consideration of the construction fund until next year. It failed by one vote, because of lackluster lobbying by the White House. Secretary Brown testified in closed session that the Pine Bluff appropriation was "premature"; Secretary of State Muskie also went on record opposing the funds. But when it came to the last-minute head-counts and arm-twisting, administration officials were less than enthusiastic advocates for the Hart Amendment. "As soon as Brown took his position," said Edy Wilkie, "he and others in the administration just started running away from it."



THE LAW

Pontiac inmates face mass trial

By Judy Levine

PONTIAC, IL

THE LARGEST MASS DEATH penalty trial in the history of the United States began Sept. 15 in Chicago. The defendants are 17 young black inmates of the Pontiac Penitentiary in northern Illinois accused of killing three white guards during a 1978 rebellion in the prison.

The defense will argue that the 17 have been made "scapegoats" for violence that would not have occurred but for the oppressive conditions of the prison.

Michael Deutch, one of the Pontiac Brothers' lawyers, and many people familiar with the case fear that it may set an important legal precedent and "create an acceptance among the people for the use of the death penalty in large numbers and on a frequent basis."

On July 22, 1978, an uprising erupted

Trying the men in groups could set a precedent for indiscriminate use of the death penalty.

at the maximum-security state facility, involving about two-thirds of the 2,000 inmates. During the violence, which lasted about eight hours, three white guards were killed, two were injured, and over \$9 million worth of property was destroyed. While the prosecution contends that the murders were planned in ad-

vance by gangs within the prison, defense says that the rebellion was a spontaneous release of frustration caused by overcrowding, sweltering heat, a lack of educational programs or work, inordinately strict discipline and, Deutch said, "racist and brutal" treatment by the mostly white rural guards who "do not

understand the experience of a minority, mostly urban prison population."

Immediately after the uprising was quelled, the Department of Corrections placed the prison in "deadlock," allowing no movement within the prison, no phone calls or visits and no showers or recreation.

For seven months, investigators from the Illinois Department of Law Enforcement interrogated inmates intensively. In order to obtain testimony, it was found during pre-trial litigation, the men were promised parole and transfer, often to lesser-security facilities. So far, state witnesses have received more than \$40,000 in funds to relocate, a sum the defense says is excessive, but which assistant state's attorney Algis F. Baliunas claims is "standard in Cook County."

Defense argues that the conditions and methods of the state's investigation make its findings unreliable. Deutch charges that investigators selected the 17 men now accused from 150 named by inmates through a process of "fitting suspects to the prosecutorial theories."

The accused will be tried in two groups of eight. (One man has recently turned state's witness.) Given the severity of the sentence, defense tried without success to get a separate trial for each defendant.

"The case has tremendous, tremendous significance," Deutch said. "First of all, placing 17 men on trial, and the power given the state, and the almost business-as-usual attitude among the people breaks open the doors to indiscriminate use of the death penalty."

Deutch pointed out that since the reinstatement of the death penalty in Illinois in 1977 every jury asked to use it in Cook County has done so. In national polls as well, he said, a majority of people now indicate that they favor capital punishment, whereas 15 years ago a majority opposed it.

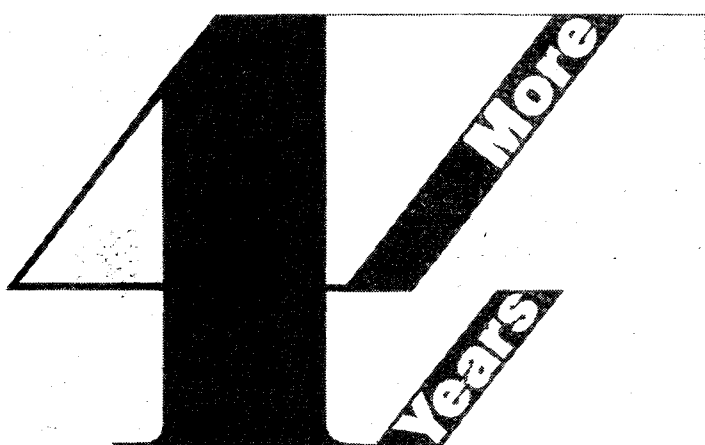
"What we hope is that people will not wait until they give these men the chair before they begin to speak out and say, 'No, you can't do that,'" Deutch said. ■

Judy Levine is a New York writer.

FREE THE PONTIAC BROTHERS



Lauren Deutch/Pontiac Prisoners Support Coalition



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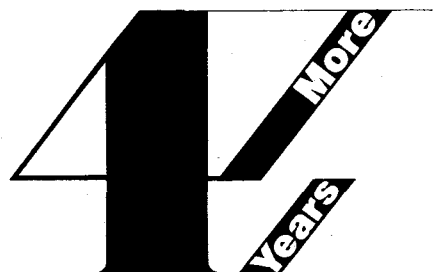
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ELECTIONS



Tom Gallagher (left) personally met almost half of the 13,000 registered voters in the Allston-Brighton district.

Grassroots coalition pays off

By Peter Dreier

BOSTON

TOM GALLAGHER, A 31-YEAR-old community activist and Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) member, recently won a seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in an upset primary victory over a 15-year incumbent.

Two years ago, Gallagher lost the Allston-Brighton district Democratic primary race to John F. Melia by 312 votes. This time, in an all-out fight, Gallagher won by a 3,055-2,230 margin. Melia's total was about the same as two years earlier, while Gallagher added more than a thousand votes to his previous total.

Gallagher took strong stands on a wide range of issues affecting Allston-Brighton, a diverse district with a high proportion of senior citizens, tenants, young workers and students from nearby colleges. On housing, he advocated stronger rent controls and a ban on condo conversions (a major concern of Boston tenants and seniors), tax reform for working-class homeowners, and more funding for public housing (two projects sit in the district). On energy, Gallagher opposed nuclear power and favored solar development and the controversial bottle bill, which the state legislature has rejected several times. To promote jobs and economic development, Gallagher called for a state bank, linked-deposit legislation (tying public deposits in banks to their "socially responsible" investment policies), and a strong plant-closing bill favored by a statewide coalition of unions, churches and community groups. Gallagher also advocated pro-choice legislation, the ERA, more funding for elderly home-care services, and gay rights.

Gallagher's positions on issues gave Allston-Brighton voters a clear choice in a year when most incumbents ran unopposed. In his 15 years in the state legislature, Melia has opposed the state ERA, the bottle bill, a progressive state income tax, and property-tax reform, while favoring nuclear power.

But while issues dominated the public campaign, Gallagher's victory was clinched by an impressive nuts-and-bolts effort that unified Boston's liberal and left community around the candidacy of a well-liked veteran activist.

More than 300 volunteers contributed their time to the campaign, which began in earnest almost a year ago. They recruited among Gallagher's many poli-

tical contacts and allies—Allston-Brighton tenant groups, the pro-abortion MORAL (Massachusetts Organization for the Reform of Abortion Laws), the local Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and friends from Gallagher's days as a student leader at Boston College, an organizer for the anti-war Indochina Peace Campaign and the United Farm Workers, a director of the Boston Community School and a founder of the *Allston-Brighton Community News* and the Brighton Citizens Association.

Voter turnout was the lowest in Massachusetts history, but Gallagher's district doubled the state average.

Coordinated by fellow activist Ray Dooley, volunteers canvassed the entire district. Gallagher personally met almost half the 13,000 registered voters at public forums, coffees and in door-to-door campaigning. The campaign distributed leaflets in English, Chinese and Spanish and targeted special constituencies: cars with "no nuke" and "solar" bumperstickers got anti-nuke leaflets; apartments with a high proportion of elderly got housing information. A Jewish calendar went to the heavily Jewish elderly housing developments, while sturdy "Tom Gallagher for State Representative" shopping bags were visible on the streets. Both campaigns spent about \$14,000.

The district's highly transient population meant that many of Gallagher's supporters from two years ago were no longer around and that many residents had only recently moved to Allston-Brighton. But a strong registration and voter identification effort, followed by an intense election-day get-out-the-vote drive, paid off. Although the statewide primary turnout of 20 percent was the lowest in Massachusetts history, the turnout in Allston-Brighton was double the statewide figure. (No statewide or national races occurred that day.) Few students bothered to vote,

but the heavy elderly turnout gave Gallagher the margin of victory.

The Gallagher campaign had clearly mastered what campaign manager Dooley called the "disciplined mechanics" of electoral politics. What surprised many observers was Melia's inability to take the initiative away from Gallagher.

Running scared, Melia began his campaign early, littered the district with large signs and enlisted the support of Boston Mayor Kevin White. But the 65-year-old Melia, who owned real estate, nursing homes and a catering business before entering the state legislature, failed to show up at several public candidates' nights to debate Gallagher on the issues.

Melia relied instead on the invisible hand available to longtime incumbents, compliments of Mayor White. Three days before the election, for example, Murdock Street was converted to a one-way street, a switch the resident homeowners had wanted for several years.

The "radical" label.

Melia's attempt to pin the "radical" label on Gallagher seemed to have little impact; in fact, it may have backfired. Gallagher decided not to make "socialism" itself an issue in the campaign, but not to deny that he was a socialist if asked. Surprisingly, as Gallagher campaigned throughout the district, it never came up.

Melia told one elderly group that Gallagher was a "dangerous radical," a "former SDS member," and a "socialist." But Gallagher had spoken to the same group a week earlier. His personal style—polite, easy-going, specific and knowledgeable on issues—as well as his credentials as a Boston College grad and an Irishman, offset any attempt to personally attack him.

Still, Dooley admitted, "we used to talk a lot about how to answer if someone asked whether Tom was a socialist."

"The word is such a wild card," Gallagher explained. "The amount of time needed to explain what you meant by it would be overwhelming. And, on a state level, I was not proposing socialism. But I was ready with an answer anyway." Gallagher's response: "I don't support Poland or the Soviet Union, if that's what you mean by socialism. I believe that big business runs the country and has too much power. The only way for people to have a voice is to organize themselves at work and in their communities."

As director of the Boston Community School, Gallagher had taught courses on

socialist theory and history, and worked with unions and community groups. That involvement netted him a number of important endorsements that gave his campaign respectability and a buffer against Melia's attacks. Gallagher was endorsed by the UAW, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, SEIU Local 509, the League of Conservation Voters and the reform liberal groups CP-PAX and the ADA, the Massachusetts Women's Political Caucus, the Black Political Task Force, the Gay Political Caucus, and the neighborhood-based Boston People's Organization. A week before the election, the *Boston Globe* added its blessing, a move Melia's campaign manager said "killed us."

Without Republican opposition in the general election in November, Gallagher now heads for the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

But he has no illusions about the influence of a state representative, though on a few issues—such as tenants' rights or plant-closing legislation—he can probably sway some votes. He joins a handful of leftists already in the state house, notably Mel King, Sandra Graham and John Businger.

Gallagher also hopes to encourage other left activists to run for elected office. The same day that Gallagher won, two other Boston neighborhood activists narrowly lost races against incumbent state representatives. Gallagher's victory could provide both the inspiration and the know-how for both to try again and for others to enter the field.

Peter Dreier, assistant professor of sociology at Tufts University, is a member of DSOC.

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A-021

JUSTICE

Court reverses Letelier convictions

By John Dinges

WASHINGTON

A FEDERAL APPEALS COURT last week ordered new trials for two Cuban exiles convicted in February 1979 for participation in a September 1976 Chilean police operation that resulted in the assassination of Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean ambassador to the U.S. and leader of international resistance to Chile's military dictatorship.

In an unusual action, the court ruling underscored the solidity of the U.S. government's case against the two Cubans, Guillermo Novo and Alvin Ross, members of the militant anti-Castro Cuban Nationalist Movement (CNM). But the three-judge panel overturned their murder convictions after declaring inadmissible the testimony of two witnesses about incriminating jailhouse conversations with the defendants.

The ruling also ordered a separate trial for the third defendant in the trial, Ignacio Novo, Guillermo's brother, who was charged with lying to a grand jury and covering up the crime, but not with participation in the assassination itself.

Supreme Court rulings were cited in dismissing the testimony of fellow inmates.

A two-year, multi-million dollar FBI investigation of the car bombing in which Letelier and an American colleague, Ronni Moffitt, 25, died, resulted in the indictment of the head of Chile's secret police (DINA), Gen. Manuel Contreras, two other DINA officers, and five New Jersey-based members of the Cuban Nationalist Movement.

Chile has refused to extradite the three secret police officers, who remain free in Chile. Two other members of the CNM have never been apprehended.

The U.S. government evidence of the DINA officers' responsibility for the as-

sassination was based primarily on the confession of Michael Townley, an American-born DINA agent who gave detailed accounts of receiving orders from DINA to kill Letelier, of seeking help from Novo and Ross and other CNM members and of actually constructing and planting the bomb under Letelier's car.

Although the appeals court decision is clearly a setback to what was, until now, the only successful prosecution ever of an act of state-sponsored terrorism in the U.S., the judges' ruling went to great lengths to uphold the validity of star-witness Townley's testimony and to reject defense arguments attacking him.

U.S. Attorney Lawrence Barcella said the new ruling will be appealed to the full 11-man panel of the District of Columbia circuit court of appeals, and possibly to the Supreme Court. A retrial sometime in the next year for Guillermo Novo and Ross is the most likely outcome.

The ruling thus opens the way for a replay—with much the same cast of characters—of the dramatic five-week trial whose witnesses included CIA aides and FBI agents, members of the Venezuelan secret police, secret informants who described the inner workings of CNM terrorist activity, former presidential candidate Senator George McGovern, and other prominent political figures.

But there will be at least one player missing. Eugene Propper, the assistant U.S. Attorney in charge of the case since the beginning, resigned from government service shortly after the trial and announced that he had signed a six-figure contract to do a movie on the case and to write a book.

Propper's movie and book projects, though still unfinished, became a matter of public controversy when charges were aired in *New York* magazine and a national lawyers' journal that the lucrative entertainment contract constituted a conflict of interest with his role as a government official. A U.S. Attorney's office staffer said Propper, who led the prosecution team in the 1979 trial, will not participate in any future trials.

The appeals court's decision to reverse the convictions of Guillermo Novo and Ross was based on two Supreme Court rulings that restrict the use of testimony from fellow inmates when the witnesses



Letelier was a leader of the international opposition to Chile's military dictatorship.

receive compensation from the government for their testimony. The two witnesses whose testimony was thrown out were Sherman Kaminsky, a convicted extortionist, and Antonio Polytarides, a convicted gun trafficker.

Kaminsky and Polytarides were in the Metropolitan Corrections Center in New York City with Guillermo Novo and Ross and testified to having conversations in which the two men bragged about their participation in the Letelier assassination. It was established at the trial that both witnesses received favorable treatment in sentencing because of their cooperation with authorities. The court held, on the basis of 1964 and 1968 Supreme Court decisions, that such compensation made the informants, in effect, government agents, and that their conversations with the defendants constituted interrogation while denying the defendants the right to have an at-

torney present.

Guillermo Novo and Ross are serving life sentences for the conviction and are not expected to be released on bail pending the outcome of further appeals or a new trial. Ignacio Novo, who was granted bail before the first trial, probably will be released on bail, and even if convicted again may soon be eligible for parole since he has already served 18 months. The three circuit court judges are known as judicial conservatives with a pattern of upholding criminal convictions. Their uncharacteristically broad application of the Supreme Court rulings to reverse this conviction has prompted speculation that their handling of the case may have been politically motivated.

There is no evidence that this is so. But political tampering with the prosecution of the Letelier assassination has been part of the case from the beginning. My own investigation, with Saul Landau, revealed, for example:

- That CIA director George Bush and deputy director Vernon Walters had advance knowledge of DINA operations in Washington, D.C., by two agents, Michael Townley and Armando Fernandez—later identified as the main assassination team.

- That Bush and other U.S. officials with that advance knowledge—which included pictures of the two men and passports under false names—failed to act to discourage Chile from carrying out the mission and after the assassination withheld the information from the FBI and U.S. prosecutors.

- That the CIA leaked stories to the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Star* and *Newsweek* saying that Chile's DINA was innocent of the crime and that the likely perpetrators were the leftist colleagues of Letelier's seeking to create a martyr for the Chilean resistance movement.

- And that key State Department and Immigration and Naturalization Service documents were withheld from the FBI for one year after the assassination. ■

John Dinges is co-author, with Saul Landau, of Assassination on Embassy Row and a former Washington Post correspondent in Chile.

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THE FAR EAST

Unrest spreads in the Philippines

By A. Lin Neumann

MANILA

WHEN ASKED HOW THINGS were going in Manila, a very proper and well-respected Roman Catholic nun replied, "Great! There is a new birth of opposition. The communists are becoming very Christian. The students are in the street. The tribal minorities are becoming very militant. I am very happy."

The source of the good sister's apparent joy lies in an unprecedented surge of activism in the Philippines against the martial law system imposed by President Ferdinand Marcos eight years ago this September 21. That is bad news for Marcos and his wife, First Lady Imelda Marcos, as they seek to celebrate the birth of the "new society."

The new pressures on the regime are most visible in the wave of bombings that have plagued the capital since mid-August. Staged by a group calling itself the April 6th Movement—after an April 6, 1978, rally protesting government-rigged elections—the bombings, which have so far injured dozens and killed one American tourist, are part of a plan to topple the government by destabilizing the center city of Manila. The bombers are mostly well-educated, middle-class activists who have trained in the Middle East and Latin America for their task, according to Benigno S. Aquino, a long-time enemy of President Marcos who was jailed a week after the declaration of martial law and only released last May. He is now in exile in Boston.

"This is a very positive development," said Aquino. "The city is in a panic—there are soldiers in the streets, roving checkpoints—this is very bad for Marcos."

The recent economic news has also been discouraging—inflation runs at around 25 percent, unemployment is about 25 percent and the buying power of the Philippine peso has declined 30 percent since 1972. The country's growth rate is declining and the national debt has reached nearly \$11 billion.

In addition, the international business community is growing wary of the regime's nascent instability. Frost and Sullivan, a New York-based risk analyst, said in a January report, "...It is very unlikely that the Marcos regime will survive the next five years."

But more than bombings and dire predictions from abroad are chipping away at the Marcos stronghold. The last several months have witnessed a dramatic increase in the kind of steady, broad-based organizing, led by leftist groups, that may eventually bring down not only Marcos, but the present economic order as well.

An underground student organizer at the government-run University of the Philippines expressed optimism after a recent series of actions by students against tuition hikes, government repression and U.S. imperialism. The students, called "martial law babies" because they have come of age since 1972, "have a keen political sense. They are opposed to martial law; human rights issues are real to them."

"We can disprove what they say about martial law babies. They are active," she added with obvious pleasure.

In the urban areas, students are combining their activities with urban slum dwellers, professionals tired of the restrictions of a closed system, and consumers protesting oil price hikes. Workers have also formed a new and militant coalition, the May 1st Movement, to combat martial law strictures against strikes and a perceived betrayal by government-sponsored unions.

A jitney driver, citing government pressure against the colorful vehicles that have long been a symbol of Filipino in-

genuity as they rumble through Manila traffic, explained that resisting martial law was his only option. "Most drivers are squatters, like me," he said. "They cannot afford any place to live."

The driver, Miguel, conducts labor education seminars on the run, in traffic, at terminal points, in the evenings and on Sundays. "The only weapon of the workers is the strike," he explained as he discussed plans for an eventual shutdown of Manila traffic.

A sister, leader of a consumer coalition, said, "The opposition is so broad now nearly every sector is opposed at some level. The whole thing of high prices, for example, really gets people going. Later on we add the political education to the consumer education that has already begun."

New coalitions.

On Aug. 29, the National Covenant for Freedom was announced, joining more than 80 traditional and formerly hostile politicians—oligarchs, for the most part—into a new political force.

While they are chiefly demanding an immediate end to martial law and free elections, the old politicians also concede that the Philippines has been dominated by foreign powers, specifically the U.S.

Former speaker of the House Jose Laurel, a longtime ally of Marcos, said at a press conference announcing the covenant, "I think every patriotic Filipino

should be opposed to the establishment of foreign bases in this country." The bases in question, Clark Air and Subic Naval, were the subject of a renewed agreement between the U.S. and the Philippines in 1979 that promised the Marcos administration \$500 million in military aid over the next five years in exchange for their continued presence.

But the politicians have no plan to remove the bases, and their overall political program remains vague. They are clearly responding to pressures from the armed left and to fears that the landed classes may soon lose their position in the society.

Gerardo Roxas, a former senator, said, "In a period of two or three years, all of us may be irrelevant. We may be overtaken by events."

Jose V. Bautista, assistant editor of the *Philippine Collegian*, appeared at the press conference to put demands to the assembled politicians. After reminding the audience that the editor of his paper had been arrested in a government crackdown against student leaders a few days earlier, Bautista began an off-the-cuff lecture: "There are more basic problems we have to address ourselves to if we truly desire the liberation of our people. We have to fight feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism.... We have been fighting these ills even before martial law. The replacement of Marcos by a small group of former politicians will be

no more than the installation of another elite group."

The militant left.

The main left opposition force in the country is the National Democratic Front (NDF) and its military wing, the New People's Army (NPA). Led by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the NDF advocates a nationalist consolidation in the Philippines and an all-out struggle against U.S. imperialism. Their program seeks to replace the old democratic system—at best a chaotic exercise, with elections bought and sold by oligarchs commanding private armies—with a broader system based on mass organizations.

Committed to a Maoist strategy of protracted war in the countryside, the NDF is highly critical of both the recent rash of bombings in the cities and the National Covenant. Work in the cities is intended to support the work among the peasants. The cities are to be organized from within and encircled by the rural areas. "Our policy is to win over the peasants, neutralize the rich, and isolate the diehards," explained an NPA cadre.

Currently the NPA is operating in 29 of the 39 Philippine provinces and sources estimate an armed strength in excess of 3,000 men with more than three million popular supporters.

The role of the church.

The role of the church is crucial in the Philippines, which is 85 percent Roman Catholic. "Genuine Christianity cannot be contradictory to a genuine movement for national liberation," explained a leading Roman Catholic nun who maintains ties with the NDF.

But officially the church has been slow to criticize martial law. And there are signs that the church is beginning to crack down on progressives in its ranks by transferring radical priests and nuns out of crucial areas.

One nun asserts that more than 100 priests have left their orders to work with the NPA, dismayed with the institutional church. Another sister said, "We don't pay any attention to Rome...the institutional church is already gone. And the Pope, the Pope is a mess."

While the NDF includes many members of religious orders and practicing Christians, it has yet to widen the leadership to include a "Christian voice." A debate is currently under way about the role of Christians in armed struggle.

For example, the Philippine Liberation Movement (PLM) and the left wing of the longstanding Social Democrat Movement both have roots in the church; both proclaim themselves to be "non-communist" rather than anti-communist. A leader of the PLM explained, "We seek a broad united front. We don't believe that any one group is strong enough to topple the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship." NDF figures admitted that "fruitful discussions" are continuing with leaders of the two groups and that a united front, roughly analogous to the consolidation of forces that led to the Nicaraguan revolution, is becoming a possibility. One of the framers of the National Covenant discussed a united front by saying, "In fact, there is enough in that covenant to forge a *modus vivendi* with the left when the time comes."

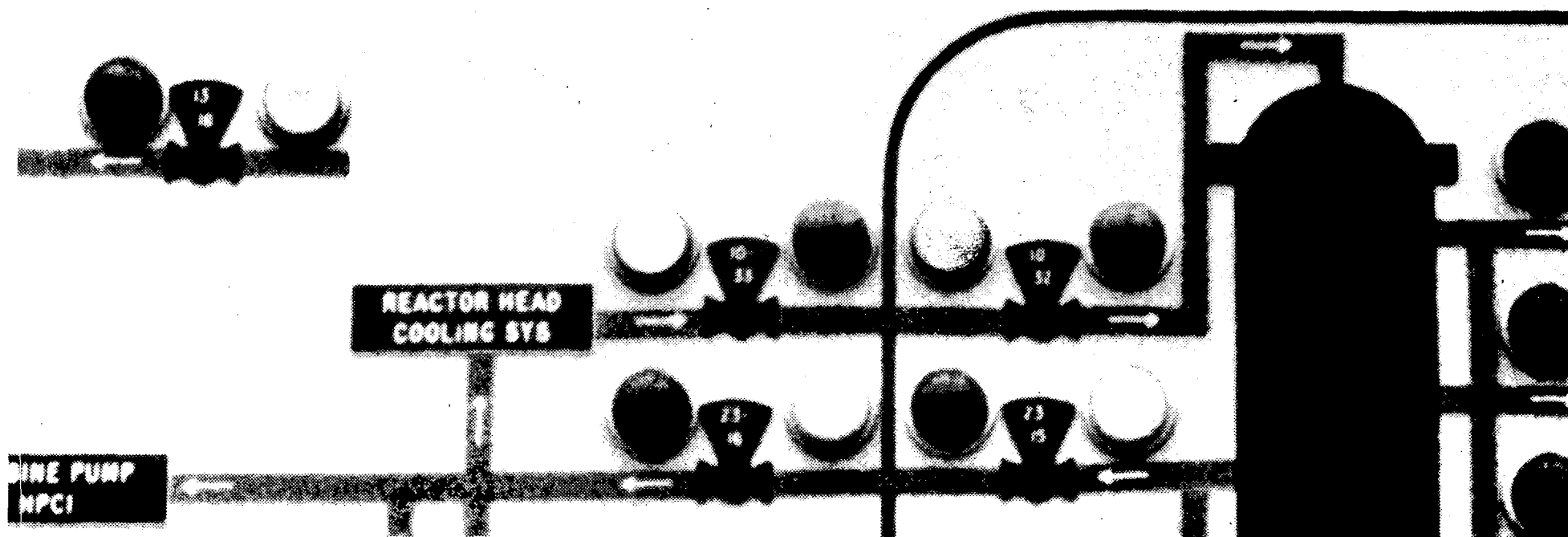
The U.S., whose long involvement in Philippine affairs began when it seized the country from the Spanish in 1898, appears certain to stick with Marcos for the near future. But that could change as the left forces grow. Many traditional politicians appear hopeful that the U.S. may help create conditions for their return to power—a situation that the left would certainly oppose.

This is the first of two reports by A. Lin Neumann, who returned from the Philippines in September. His second article will focus on rural resistance and NPA programs in the countryside.

Foreign investors are growing wary; one U.S. risk analyst judged it "very unlikely the Marcos regime will survive the next five years."



As Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos celebrated a "new society" in the Philippines, economic and political pressures on the regime continued to intensify.

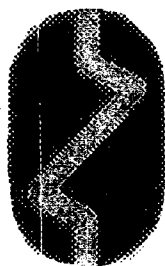


MAINE

Ballot fight educates voters

By Dennis Bailey

PORTLAND, MAINE



WHEN IT WAS ALL OVER, they didn't seem all that disappointed, at least not as disappointed as might have been expected. One of them, a young woman who had worked feverishly in the final two weeks handing out leaflets at shopping centers to convince Maine voters they should do away with their only nuclear power plant, said, "All we really lost was some votes—Maine will never be the same."

Indeed, the state's referendum campaign to ban nuclear power, which culminated last Tuesday with voters electing to keep open its 840-megawatt plant in Wiscasset—about 40 miles east of here—has had a profound impact on Maine and its people. Even Ray Shadis, the former schoolteacher and artist who spearheaded the referendum drive and who quite literally lives in the shadow of the Maine Yankee nuclear plant, felt the effort was worth it. "We got a lot of people involved, including a lot of state politicians who weren't involved with energy concerns before. They now have a sense of enfranchisement and they're going to go with it. And that's a real positive thing."

There were plenty of accomplishments. For one, more than half the state's 700,000 voters turned out for the single-issue referendum, almost equalling the usual turnout for presidential elections. Final counts showed 227,100 voted to keep nu-

clear power; 157,223 said shut it down.

The anti-nuclear, grass-roots effort also brought out a lot of first-time voters. Portland registered more than 500 new voters on referendum day and several polling places stayed open past their scheduled closing time to accommodate them all. For an anti-nuclear movement that was really several small groups working in each of the state's 16 counties, it was no small accomplishment.

The pro side, represented by the industry-supported Committee to Save Maine Yankee (as in, ironically, Save the Whales, Save the Earth, and so on), took a less personal approach, relying on several expensive mass mailings and slick Madison Avenue television advertisements to get its message across. It paid off. Even the tiny coastal town of Wiscasset, home of the Maine Yankee plant, voted two-to-one to keep its largest taxpayer in business.

But the nuclear industry would be wrong to try and read the vote as anything more than an endorsement of just the one Maine Yankee plant. Governor Joseph Brennan went on television even before the tally was complete to warn the nuclear industry that Maine people still have serious questions about the safety of nuclear power. And the anti forces, hinting that another referendum was just around the corner,

From the start, it was an iffy proposition. To halt the construction of future nuclear plants was one thing, but to close a plant that had been quietly chugging away for almost eight years, producing about one-third of the state's electricity, was quite another. Maine Yankee, located on picturesque Montsweag Bay in

Wiscasset, never really experienced any major problems. In fact, the plant set a world record in 1978 for 392 days of continuous operation, a remarkable achievement considering the general inefficiency of nuclear power facilities. The wisdom of shutting down the plant was questioned even by some of those who considered themselves anti-nuclear. If one of the problems with nuclear power is that the technology to decommission a plant doesn't now exist, does it make sense, they argued, to take one off line at this stage of the game?

The pro-nuclear side, bolstered by more than \$1 million in donations from nuclear interests nationwide, had it easy. They could argue, rather effectively, that Maine Yankee was safe, clean and, above all, cheap. Their campaign was a textbook example of how to sell nuclear power, modeled after similar efforts in states where nuclear moratoriums had been on the ballot (the Maine vote was the first anywhere to shut down an operating plant). That model assumes that people vote their pocketbook. "If they close Maine Yankee it's going to hit you where it hurts," read one full-page newspaper ad that showed a rumpled, tired looking woman carrying a bag of groceries. The message was obvious: shutting down Maine Yankee would inflate more than just your electric bill.

In typical fashion, the pro-nukers ignored every cost of nuclear power except fuel costs, which they argued are cheaper than any other power source. The \$50 million it takes to operate the plant each year, and that would be saved if it closed, was ignored. Also, the only alternative power source available to replace Maine Yankee, said the pro side, is oil—not just any oil, but *foreign* oil. That was important. A member of the Save Maine Yankee group said when he filmed a television commercial for the cause, he was expressly told to inject the phrase "foreign oil" to instill the image of greedy Arabs reaping the rewards of our reckless energy policy.

The pro-nuke side claimed a shutdown would cost ratepayers a minimum of \$140 million in the first year, a figure that was never successfully refuted, though cost figures of replacement power during those times the plant has been down for repairs suggest that it is out of line.

Westinghouse and L.L. Bean.

The nuclear industry took the Maine referendum seriously. The list of those kicking into the pro-nuke coffers was a virtual who's who in the nuclear power infrastructure, and the amounts were substantial: Westinghouse Electric, the nation's leading supplier of nuclear power plants, gave \$50,000; Stone & Webster, the second largest nuclear power construction firm and the one that built Maine Yankee, gave \$40,000; General Electric was in for \$36,000; Mobil Oil, numerous New York investment houses, several utility companies, and even Maine's own L.L. Bean all chipped in a

bundle to keep the plant open (the only real "name" contributing to the anti-nuclear side was Maine author Stephen King—*Carrie*, *The Shining*—who gave \$300).

Against all of this, the anti-nuclear groups made their stand with only a quarter of the amount of money being tossed around by the Save Maine Yankee group. Where the pro-nukers needed only to say that nuclear power was cheap and without it, bills would go up, the arguments advanced by the anti-nuclear side were much more complex and assumed a general understanding of nuclear technology. Terms like capacity factors, half life, gamma emitters and decommissioning abounded in their presentations, and their newspaper ads were overwhelmingly grey and often without illustration. The message was anything but direct. This was a real problem: convincing a generally unenlightened electorate that strontium-90, while not in their vocabulary, may be in their milk.

The nuke at home.

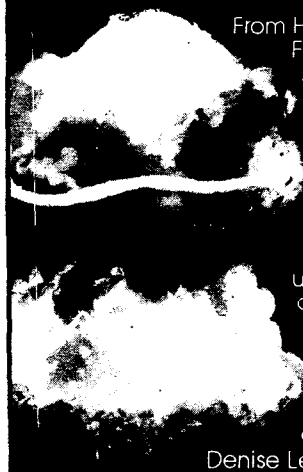
Another problem for the anti-nuclear side was the absence of one official spokesperson who could, in clear, down-to-earth terms, make a case for doing away with Maine Yankee. There were plenty of people who could make a rational case against nuclear power in general (the best was techno-economist Amory Lovins, who appeared in Maine on behalf of the referendum initiative), but when it came right down to it, the issue was Maine Yankee. A poll by the same firm that accurately predicted the outcome of the election showed that a majority of Mainers are clearly against building more nukes but for keeping the one they have. Even though the referendum question made no mention of Maine Yankee and simply asked whether electrical generation by nuclear fission should be banned, the pro-side succeeded in turning the issue exclusively to Maine Yankee.

Ray Shadis made it clear that he was only in it for this one bid and that he is now likely to pick up the pieces of his life, move as far away from the plant as he can and forget all about nuclear power. But for many of his disciples, it won't be that easy. In that way, Shadis has succeeded more than even he realizes. A lot of first-time activists came of age during the referendum debate and now vow to carry the fight every step of the way. Central Maine Power Company, the state's largest utility and principal owner of Maine Yankee, will go before the Maine Public Utilities Commission shortly to ask that the plant's spent fuel pool be expanded. Chances are good that many people will show up for the hearings who only a few months ago didn't know what a spent fuel pool was.

Maybe if the referendum had been held in the spring, it would have been different. Right now, most Mainers are looking ahead to the coming winter wondering if they will be able to stay warm without going broke. Closing Maine Yankee would have just been one more headache. Instead, they can settle back next to a woodstove with a good book and put aside all thoughts of that massive cement bubble on the edge of the ocean at Wiscasset. There are other things to think about. At least for now.

Dennis Bailey is a staff writer for the *Maine Times*.

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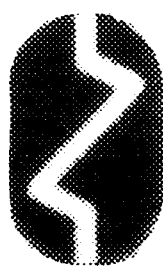
Produced by the SANE Education Fund, at the studios of WGBH-Boston, with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

WASHINGTON

Cost overruns are business as usual

By George DuVall

SEATTLE



NUCLEAR CONSTRUCTION workers in Washington state have one word for it, "frustration!" Craft workers at the nation's most expensive nuclear power plant—the \$2.4 billion WPPSS No. 2 at Hanford—have blown the

whistle on working conditions they say are costing billions and making it impossible for them to do their jobs.

At a hearing this summer, pipefitters and quality control inspectors from Local 598 told state senate investigators that tear-out and rework, engineering delays, excessive documentation, extreme congestion and poor design are the root causes of low productivity in nuclear construction.

In February the state senate's Energy & Utilities Committee began a year-long probe into huge cost-overruns on five nuclear plants being built by the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS). WPPSS (pronounced and nicknamed "Whoops") claims low productivity and labor disputes share much of the blame for pushing the price tag on WPPSS' half-finished nukes from \$4 billion to a staggering \$16 billion.

Attention has focused on plant No. 2, eight years under construction and beset by problems that now threaten its com-

pletion. In June, work stopped on the sacrificial shield wall, a major safety feature ruled "unsafe" by the NRC. Then, on the day of the workers' testimony, the NRC halted all construction on No. 2 while it investigated 200 allegations of safety violations in the piping system, the key contract in the plant.

No. 2 is now six years behind schedule and WPPSS, which has projected a critical energy shortage in the Pacific Northwest, is under enormous pressure from the major industries and the private utilities to begin producing electricity. WPPSS, in turn, is putting the pressure on labor to get the work done.

"They want to get production," said Richard Parish, a quality control inspector at No. 2 since 1978. "They really don't care about quality out there."

WPPSS is getting production, argue workers, by doing everything over again three or four times. A recurring complaint is that work continues even when it is known the job will have to be redone. "When we started up there [in the radwaste building]," recalled Lyle Winkler, a sheetmetal supervisor, "we knew a major design change would take place.... We knew we would have to tear it out later." Added pipefitter Gene Kinsey, "I know of one [pipe] hanger that was redone 17 times." (Last month an auditor's report on productivity at WPPSS plant No. 3 announced that rework accounted for 27 hours per worker in a 40-hour work week.)

Local 598 then described what it's like

to work inside the 85 percent completed plant. Here in the eastern Washington desert, where inside temperatures often reach 110 degrees, the various crafts—electrical, heating and ventilation, hydraulics, pipefitter/welders—all compete for space to do their job in conditions of "wall-to-wall men and pipes, like climbing through spaghetti."

"We're working under a free-space system," explained Tilstra. Because engineering has lost the control to schedule jobs, workers and materials, the crafts are working on a first-come, first-work basis. This situation is aggravated by poor design—often two pipe hangers, or a hanger and a junction box, or a duct, are slated to occupy the same physical space, causing workers to take turns tearing out each other's work. (Eventually 25 miles of pipe and 10,000 hangers must be fit into the containment area.)

Besides rework and congestion, workers cited bureaucratic delay and documentation "overkill" as reasons why No. 2 is increasing in price three times faster than it is being built. Kinsey noted in his log for Jan. 23, 1979, that it took "three hours to do the job and three days to do the paperwork."

WPPSS says it has 11 million pieces of paper in a fireproof vault to "sell" No. 2 to the NRC. As yet, the NRC isn't buying, reportedly because documentation is still missing or incomplete.

Labor pointed the finger at still another mess at WPPSS. This is the engineering bureaucracy, known as No. 2 for its snail's-pace approach to resolving urgent design problems. One worker said he has outstanding "Requests for Information"—used to bring specific design problems to the attention of engineering—dating back to 1976. Workers say design changes that shouldn't take more than three days commonly take up to six months at WPPSS. Waiting for new designs to come back from engineering, work crews have to be assigned to other jobs—a minimum of two hours and \$500 each time a crew has to change locations.

But the kicker came when Wes Skinner, piping superintendent for a heating and ventilation subcontractor, told state senate investigators that WPPSS directed him to "increase the crew size, but don't increase production." WPPSS strongly denies Skinner's allegation, but no one denies that opportunities exist for WPPSS to abet collusion between its contractors in the administration of \$16 billion worth of loosely-managed cost-plus construction contracts.

Indeed, this relationship between low productivity and profit in nuclear construction is becoming more obvious as costs continue to skyrocket. The bureaucratic complexity of implementing design changes and safety requirements, no matter how well-intentioned, can be lucratively manipulated by private contractors. At WPPSS, a system has evolved where production is defined by footage and poundage; private contractors are paid for everything that goes in and—if there is an error in design—everything that comes back out. Although tear-out and rework—"design error correction," also known as "design evolution"—has become an intolerable headache for labor, it is a bonanza for the contractors.

And again and again, plant completion dates slip silently into the future, each month's delay adding nearly \$50 million to an already swollen price tag. No. 2's piping contract, already 64 months behind schedule, has grown from an original \$59 million to \$320 million, and the amount of work still to be done remains "unknown." This pattern of schedule delays and cost increases has meant that for every 10 percent nearer to completion (WPPSS' five plants are between 10 and 85 percent finished), the total cost increases by a third!

For quality control inspectors like Gary Chapman, it's the final frustration. "WPPSS has given contractors the license to steal," Chapman told the senate committee. "That's a pretty strong statement, but I believe it."

George DuVall is on the staff of the Light Brigade, a citizen action organization in Seattle that watchdogs the nation's sixth largest publicly-owned utility—Seattle City Light.



Goodbye, Dixie

SEATTLE—Governor Dixie Lee Ray, a former head of the Atomic Energy Commission, fell from grace with Washington voters as unexpectedly as she had risen to the state's highest political office four years ago. Ray, a professed Democrat and an aggressive promoter of an energy-intensive economy, gained national prominence as the nation's second woman governor, and as an unofficial spokeswoman for the nuclear industry.

Ray's contempt for the media, environmentalists and anti-nuke critics helped voters decide to put her out of office in Washington's Sept. 16 primary. Unable to galvanize Democratic Party support and denied endorsement from the Washington State Labor Council, Ray lost by 90,000 votes to state senator Jim McDermott, a liberal Democrat. Though McDermott has only vague anti-nuclear sentiments, he has taken a strong position against the dumping of nuclear wastes at Hanford in eastern Washington.

Half the vote unseating Ray came from four counties in which voters have recently approved "advisory" ballot initiatives opposing nuclear power plants. In Seattle, where the Alinsky-style Light Brigade is beginning a statewide organizing campaign to halt further financing of a \$16 billion nuclear project, 55 percent voted for McDermott.

Grays Harbor County was Dixie-land four years ago, but with construction of two nuclear plants disrupting the county's agricultural economy and rural amenities, a local pro-solar group, Sincere Harborites for Safe Energy (SHARE), helped convinced voters to say no to Dixie by more than two to one. Ray was also defeated by a closer margin in Skagit County where one year ago voters halted Puget Power's plans to build a twin-reactor plant in the majestic "Magic Skagit."

Ray has never disguised her disdain for critics of nuclear development. Believing public "fear" of nuclear power to be the AEC's number one problem, she commissioned the Rassmussen Report to prove the statistical impossibility of a nuclear accident. That report was later discredited by the NRC as "misleading." But even after Three Mile Island, Ray has continued to ridicule public concern about the safety and economics of nuclear energy as "hysteria."

Since Ray, the architect of Nixon's \$10 billion "Project Independence," became governor of Washington in 1976, she has been actively grooming Hanford, Wash., as the nation's model full-fuel cycle "nuclear park."

Ray has also made no secret of her love affair with the corporate interests that are promoting energy-intensive industrial development of the Pacific Northwest—Arco, the aluminum industry (which uses a third of the region's electricity), Boeing (which uses a third of the region's aluminum production), Puget Power (the state's largest private utility), Weyerhaeuser and Burlington Northern.

A pleased lobbyist for Boeing said Ray "is probably the best executive officer business could hope for." And at a recent fundraiser for Ray's abortive re-election campaign, John Conway, president of the American Nuclear Energy Council, said simply, "We need her." Washington voters did not agree. —George DuVall



LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

GAYS IN CUBA

BOTH PAUL HOFFEL AND ANN FERGUSON, in their articles on Cuba (*ITT*, Aug. 27), cite East German sexologist Siegfried Schnabl's text, *Man and Women in Intimacy*, as one indication of a more positive Cuban government stance on gayness. Your readers will be interested to know that Schnabl's chapter on homosexuality is translated in the current (Summer 1980) issue of *Gay Insurgent: A Gay Left Journal*, by Randolph E. Wills of Cornell University, prefaced by an introductory essay by Stephen J. Risch and Wills. Copies are available at \$2.50 (\$3.00 outside U.S.) each from Lavender Archives, P.O. Box 2337, Philadelphia, PA 19103.

—Daniel Tsang
Editor, *Gay Insurgent*

ONE STEP FORWARD

CUBA'S COMMUNIST PARTY FORBIDS gay membership, so one must conclude that this Vanguard Party has taken the lead of popular prejudice. Cuban gays also cannot organize on their own, so it seems gratuitously cruel to label gays who wish to leave the island "escoria"—scum. Gays are not "counterrevolutionary" as such, but anti-gay bigotry, like racism and sexism, is.

In two separate articles on Cuba (*ITT*, Aug. 27), authors Hoeffel and Ferguson speak of a new Cuban textbook on sex education, a Spanish translation of *Man and Woman in Intimacy*, first published in the German Democratic Republic. A gay Cuban union official is reported as saying that "the chapter on homosexuality is as enlightened as they come." This means that this textbook says homosexuality is not a sin or sickness.

Neither Hoeffel nor Ferguson men-

tions the deep contradiction between the enlightened view and the following portions of the text. The text goes on to review "the causes of homosexuality" and to ask, "Are there possibilities for curing homosexuality in those seeking to do so?"

I would ask straight readers to ask themselves for what reasons a heterosexual might seek to cure his or her heterosexuality. Likewise, what are the causes of heterosexuality? "If from infancy," the text continues, "sexuality is oriented in a normal direction, by means of adequate role models of heterosexual behavior within the context of a well-rounded education, then many cases of homosexuality could be prevented." Reverse the terms "homo" and "hetero" in the preceding quote, and read it again.

Given the history of oppression in Cuba, isn't this textbook a step forward? Yes—a step forward to the "liberal" oppressiveness of bureaucratic and authoritarian psychiatry and sexology with which U.S. gays are already familiar.

To defend Cuba's revolutionary process is one thing. But not to criticize that process when necessary means lapsing again into Stalinist self-delusion. This aids progress neither at home nor in Cuba.

—Scott Tucker
Philadelphia

COMING HOME

I WHOLEHEARTEDLY AGREE WITH your editorial on the need for the left to develop a legislative commitment. I think it's time for the democratic left in this country to wake up to the realization that it is neither democratic nor socialist to place all one's hopes in the powers of one man. We should also realize the near impossibility of electing a socialist president under present circumstances. The future for a democratic

socialist movement in the U.S. lies in the capture of the seats of power closest to the American people: the cities, the counties, the state legislatures, and the Congress. Our collective power must be utilized where the best results can be obtained. We must concentrate on winning the hearts and minds of people where they live.

I hope that more people on the left support the view expressed in that editorial. For while we are fighting among ourselves, the forces of oppression are uniting around the goal of making this great country of ours a haven for injustice, inequality, and hatred for the ideas upon which our nation was founded.

—Bill Yates
Seattle

AND OFTEN

ENCLOSED IS MY CONTRIBUTION TO help support the continued operations of the finest left newspaper in the U.S. I'm sure that all of us long-time subscribers are concerned that the pap-

toxic chemicals.

What of the workers who were exposed to these chemicals—who have effects from them? Most of us got little or no compensation—no pensions—and live solely on our Social Security.

—Ruby Clouser
Lancaster, Calif.

RELIGION IN CUBA

PAUL HOFFEL'S ARTICLE ON CUBA (*ITT*, Aug. 27) contains a comment by a young man that "...If they found out I was religious, I'd probably lose my job at the theater where I work and they won't leave me alone." Hoeffel then goes on to express surprise at finding religious expression in Cuban society other than blue jean worship.

These sentences misrepresent the reality of religion in Cuba today. This June I visited Cuba for two weeks with seven other people from Boston's Church of the Covenant. During our stay, hosted by the interdenominational Protestant Theological Seminary in



Thanks to Geoff Fox. If you've seen any good postcards lately, send them along.

er continue to publish regularly and frequently. I would be disappointed if *In These Times* were to appear only bi-weekly, and of course this would raise the effective price under subscription to a point where it would be difficult to imagine that there would not be a loss in renewals.

Another point concerning the financial health of *ITT* is the cost of maintaining operations, the largest part of which usually is salary. And of course, a similar rundown of revenue sources, especially if compared with the averages in the newspaper industry as a whole, would be instructive. Probably less of the budget comes from advertising.

—Paul Harrison
Eugene, Ore.

Editor's note: Salaries make up less than 30 percent of our costs. Advertising accounts for about 6 percent of our income.

A VICTIM OF TOXIC CHEMICALS

THE MAJOR TV NETWORKS, MAJOR newspapers and magazines tell of the horrors of the toxic chemical dumps now found across our country—and rightly so—though only the tip of this evil is yet seen.

As one who worked with these chemicals in the aerospace industry, I am a victim. I wrote our elected officials about these dangers in the work area and feel I helped mid-wife OSHA into being. Too late for me—as these solvents have an accumulative effect. The skin over the entire outside of my body lost pigmentation and all vital organs are affected. In the early 1970s there weren't the diagnostic tools—nor medical men with the knowledge or guts—to tell what was happening to those of us who worked (some still do) in these

Matanzas, we participated in several religious services and engaged in conversations with some of Cuba's leading Protestant theologians.

Cuban religious leaders with whom we talked are firm in their belief that the church cannot live with its back to the revolution and that, for Christians in Cuba and elsewhere, socialism is the only political and economic option that permits true faithfulness to the Biblical tradition.

But many ministers and lay persons have left Cuba in the past 21 years, and much has been made in the American press of these departures as an indication that religious freedom does not and cannot exist in socialist and Communist countries. Nevertheless, on the evidence I saw, religion in Cuba is alive and struggling to re-interpret Christian theology in ways that are relevant to the revolutionary experience. This is quite different from our North American prototypes.

—Joan Tighe
Boston

HOLY MOLY!

STEPHEN KREVISKY IN HIS LETTER (*ITT*, Aug. 27) questions where I get my information.

I get my information from unimpeachable sources: the Holy Bible, the Yellow Pages and *In These Times*.

—Art Liebrez
Corte Madera, Calif.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



Fred Halliday reports on the conflict between Iraq and Iran.

Diana Johnstone reports from Poland.

And *In These Times* regularly features some of the best reporting available on world events: David Mandel in Jerusalem, James North in Southern Africa, Chris Mullin in London, David Helvarg in Central America, David Fleishman in Japan.

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STKA

ROBERTA LYNCH

New women's fashions signal a retrenchment

IT IS IRONIC THAT THE SAYING goes "Clothes make the man" when it is in fact women who are most often made—or unmade—by the way they dress. Men's clothing styles change little with the times and I doubt that the average male expends any more energy in maintaining his wardrobe than he does in maintaining his car. Nor does anyone care much about the end product—as long as his tie's on frontward and he's not wearing a kilt.

Perhaps they didn't say "Clothes make the woman" because it was so close to the unpleasant truth of the matter. Perhaps they preferred not to acknowledge the domination of the fashion industry over individual preference, the long hours before department store mirrors, or the urgency of looking "right" by whatever standard prevailed.

The women's movement set out to change all that. Women should wear comfortable clothes, it said. Clothes that stayed around year after year like familiar friends. Clothes that drew attention for their bright colors or their lively patterns, not for their cut or their pull.

Although some early feminists may have gone to extremes in their desire to free themselves completely from the myths and expectations engendered by female styles of dress, on the whole even ardent feminists did not stray far from the societal norm. They were not looking to shock (as so much of the fashion



industry perennially is) but rather to de-emphasize the role of appearance in women's self-definitions.

In the course of a decade the changes were widespread. Women of all backgrounds and races began to choose clothes that complemented their life styles, jobs and personalities. Older women started to pass up the flowered housedresses to which they'd been relegated in favor of slacks and loose-fitting tops. Female construction workers strolled the streets in work shoes, overalls and flannel shirts. Nurses shifted from confining straight-skirted uniforms to comfortable pant suits.

Nor were all the changes on the practical side. For instance, beautiful silky fabrics that felt as good as they looked became common. Overall, clothing became more varied and less contrived, more attractive and less restrictive.

I should have known it couldn't simply go on that way. Our dress is, after all, a product of our times. And as the cause of equality for women has met frustra-

tion and reversals, it shouldn't be surprising that our clothing seems to be hearkening back to an earlier time.

To begin, there are the shoes. High heels are back in style. Thin high heels. The kind you can't walk in, only wobble.

Even more amazing, pointy-toed high heels are back in vogue. If ever there was a style that deserved to be relegated to the dust bin of fashion history, it's that one. Not only do such shoes malform your feet, but they force your body to function at a perpetual slant.

Then there's the slit skirt. I suppose I should be relieved that women aren't being required to wear skirts so tight they can't move their legs more than two inches in any direction (remember those days?). Still, this new version isn't a whole lot better. In return for the freedom of movement provided by the slits, there's compulsory sexual advertising.

Yet for all its obvious sexual components, this new look doesn't represent any greater freedom of expression for women. Sexually, it is a return to dress as a form of titillation. It is playing to a male audience, rather than an emergence of some interior sense of our sexuality.

Nor is it actually very free. For all its bravado, it is essentially a carefully controlled look. Hair is sleek and coifed. Make-up is neat and restrained. Suits are tailored. Nylon stockings are a must—even on the hottest days.

Riding the el to work each day in the midst of it all, I can't help but wonder why—after a decade of personal, social and professional growth—women seem to have fallen back on the old stock in trade, our looks, for our security.

I suppose you could simply chalk it up to the whims of fashion czars and their ability to shape our choices. But I have a feeling there's more going on than that. It seems to me that it all has something to do with fear and with power.

As more and more women begin to excel in traditionally male fields, to gain a measure of influence in the world where it has always been denied them, there is a reaction on the part of men. The fear that they have always had of women—a fear that could be contained by restricting the female to a limited social sphere

—starts to assert itself. Today, men may let women pass them the hammer or buy them a drink, but there is a deep underlying resistance to our very presence in "their" world.

Women, with their antennae so finely tuned to pick up male discomfort, know this only too well. And we get scared right back. We fear terribly male fear—because with it comes hostility and rejection. And we're not yet prepared fully to face the consequences of that.

We know that we want more power in the world, but we are also terrified of losing the only power we've ever really felt we had—our sexual power over men.

As a result, I suspect that the new style of dress is not simply meant to allure, but, more importantly, to appease. It is designed to reassure men—that we will not venture too far from our assigned place, that our desire for genuine sexual expression or for economic equity is still circumscribed by our traditional roles, that we are not so hungry for political power as to abandon our more longstanding hungers—for admiration, for affection, for love.

I may be reading too much into an exposed thigh, but I think that this latest style is essentially the uniform of guerrilla warfare. In the face of male backlash, we're trying to hold the ground we've taken by whatever means we can. We know that we've come too far to go back now. Yet we're no longer sure where "forward" is—and we're unwilling to let go completely of what we know for what is still only potential.

So, as in all protracted struggles (and what could be more protracted than this ancient battle between the sexes?) there is a time for retrenchment—for regrouping our forces, for renewing our vision, for recharting our course.

This is such a time. But it can't last. For, as a Susan Criffin has written:

There is always a time to make right what is wrong

And with all the wrongs that continue to shadow our lives—no matter what we're wearing—that time will come as well. ■ *Roberta Lynch is active in the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.*

PERSPECTIVES

Socialist Party candidacy is not a "fool's errand"

By David McReynolds

WHEN THE SOCIALIST PARTY NOMINATED ME FOR PRESIDENT in late February, my personal feelings were mixed. Wasn't the Socialist Party sending the two of us, Sister Diane Drufenbrock and myself, off on a fool's errand? Why, after all, should the Socialist Party do what the Socialist Labor Party had done for decades without notable results? (Wasn't the real action in Mike Harrington's drive to capture the Democratic nomination for Ted Kennedy? Or should we have joined forces with those working in the Citizens Party?

First, to take up the issue of Ted Kennedy and the DSOC strategy of working in the Democratic Party. I know how small the Socialist Party is—I also know how small, behind the gauze of its famous members, the ranks of DSOC are. Given the small numbers of DSOC it was at best quixotic to assume DSOC could have had much impact on the Democratic convention. More important—from a socialist point of view did it make a hell of a lot of difference if Kennedy did get the nomination?

What of the Citizens Party? It is another effort by liberals to reform capitalism. Defeat as the rhetoric of the Citi-

zens Party sounds—and radical as a minority of its membership is—the reality of its position is not social ownership, but private ownership and public control; profits to remain in private hands, with new controls to "channel" capital where it is needed.

The Socialist Party is running candidates for specific reasons. Not for 5 percent of the vote—neither Ed Clark nor Barry Commoner will get that and by Nov. 4 Anderson may be lucky to get it. We want to make it possible for Americans to talk about socialism. We want to define socialism. I do not believe Ted Kennedy or John Anderson or Barry

Commoner are qualified to define socialism to the American people—nor do any of them have any interest in doing so. I am uneasy in leaving that task in the hands of Communist Gus Hall, SWP Andrew Pulley or WW Deirdre Griswold, all of whom share a Marxist-Leninist definition, which is very different from the one held by democratic socialists—whether in the New American Movement, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, or the Socialist Party. We want to define for the American people a democratic, humane socialism that can be seen as part of the American experience. There is no better way to do this than entering the electoral arena and using it, in the beginning, as an educational tool.

Second, we want to bolster local socialists. Sister Diane and I are trying to encourage people everywhere to enter candidates at the local level in 1982. Americans naturally turn to the electoral process before they will turn elsewhere. It is one thing for anarchists to say "Don't vote—it only encourages them." That's cute, but it's a stance, not a political position. In reality, political change does not come from those who have retreated from political involvement. A population too demoralized to fight it out at the ballot box won't fight it out anywhere else. Random riots are not revolution. Eugene V. Debs put it well when he told one audience that if the workers couldn't learn to aim their ballots properly they certainly wouldn't be able to aim bullets.

Demonstrations, direct actions, civil disobediences, logically follow an electoral betrayal (as when Johnson betrayed his campaign promises in 1964)—they cannot substitute for electing people to office. The crux of the Southern struggle was over the right of blacks to vote. That was the cutting edge of the civil rights movement.

Third, we want to focus attention on

the danger of nuclear war and the war policies of the Pentagon. The Communist Party will also do this, but its failure to be critical of Soviet policy leaves its attack on the American military mortally weakened. The Socialist Party focuses on the Pentagon as the most powerful single political and economic force in America. We are calling for the unconditional dismantling of all American nuclear weapons as well as power plants. We obviously want the Soviets and Chinese to join this effort. But we insist that the U.S. begin the process. The left must not dismiss this as a pacifist position—the Socialist Party is not pacifist. In the event of an invasion by Canada or Mexico, or if Soviet or Chinese troops suddenly landed in the South Bronx, I assume most of our members would engage in armed defense and the rest of us would turn to nonviolent resistance. But nuclear arms are literally insane; they differ absolutely from other methods of armed defense in that they provide no defense.

Recent Polish events are useful here. Not only do those events confirm the role of the working class as crucial to social change, and not only did the Polish strikers prove that it is possible even in a Communist state for unarmed men and women to compel change, but it is clear the West should use this moment, when Soviet weakness is obvious, to urge a major de-escalation of the arms race in Europe, to revive the historic Polish concept of a demilitarized zone in Europe, to move toward the dissolution of the NATO and Warsaw alliances. The entire basis for NATO was (in theory) to prevent a military thrust from Russia. Russian internal problems suggest this is unlikely and that the cost to her and her East European allies of an arms race are high enough that there, as well as here, there is social discontent resulting from shifts of goods from the civilian to the military sectors. ■

Part V: Labor and the Socialist Party

LABOR HISTORY

The rise and fall of Socialist electoral politics in the 1900s

THIS ARTICLE IS THE FIFTH IN A SERIES on the history of labor in American politics intended to shed light on current strategies for labor.

To assess the present options confronting the labor movement, it is essential to know the realities of its past politics. Given the power of private property and the cultural diversity of America's working people, it was inevitable that movements resisting the evils of capitalism would differ on how—or whether—private property could be made to serve the public good.

The series examines these differences. It explores tensions and alliances between various social movements. And it assesses the impact of liberal and radical organizations on working-class political actions, showing what conditions led to the rise and fall of anarchist, socialist and communist parties, where participating in the mainstream brought gains and where losses, and why independent labor and farm-labor parties arose.

By Paul Buhle

HOW CAN A COMMITTED Socialist minority in American politics escape the irrelevance of isolation, the confusion and corruption rampant in the two-party mainstream? Through the prism of one decisive historical experience—the first large-scale Socialist political movement in the U.S.—we may look for elements of an answer.

The Socialist Party in its heyday made electoral Socialism an option for substantial segments of the labor movement, on a scale not attained before or since. The party's influence cut across geographic and ethnic boundaries, sustained itself through repeated crises, and for an historical moment posed a threat to the two-party monopoly of power. The Socialists' strength may be put to their faith in democracy. They believed in the vote as a symbol of the larger process of debate that would lead to enlightened public involvement. Their weakness lay in the ability of their enemies—corporations, mainstream politicians, and anti-socialist reformers—to use that process to their own ends and in the difficulty of labor

Series edited by Paul Buhle and Alan Dawley.

and its allies to exercise the immense potential at their hands.

Origins.

The roots of the Socialist movement lie in the turmoil of the 1880s and '90s, which sharpened the social conflicts in the U.S. while eliminating other radical alternatives. After 1886, the Knights of Labor and the German-dominated anarchist and socialist movements receded, leaving the field to the American Federation of Labor and the scattering of reform movements around the People's Party. By 1896 the severe economic recession and the swallowing of the Populists by the Democratic Party placed earth-shaking events like the Homestead Strike, the Pullman Strike, and the hunger marches on Washington into a near political vacuum. The small Socialist Labor Party, loudly insisting that Revolution was around the corner, sought to take over the AFL but only destroyed itself. The hero of the Pullman Strike, Eugene Debs, tried to lead his supporters toward the establishment of a utopian colony in the West, but then decided it was impossible to create a socialist commonwealth within capitalism and joined with others to call for an alternative to further drift and confusion: a diverse, democratic Socialist movement.

With their constituency of immigrants and native-born, city workers, small middle-class and farmers, the Socialists united in 1901 upon the grandest agitational campaign the American left had ever seen. Using electoral activity as lever of political education, the Socialist party sent hundreds of speakers far and wide, issued millions of propaganda leaflets, and formed an umbrella beneath which state and local Socialists could adapt their message to conditions and prevailing consciousness.

From the weekly *Appeal to Reason* out of Girard, Kan., which sometimes had press runs of up to a million, to the Yiddish-language *Daily Forward*, the most widely circulated Yiddish-language newspaper in the world, to the scores of local sheets, socialist views could be found in nearly every language and among any factory or village population.

Most of all, Socialists spoke for and to labor. They observed the rise of corporate might demoralizing the AFL craft worker with his proud traditions, de-

The first great wave of American socialism spoke for labor, and especially for those in the trade unions.

grading to almost unspeakable conditions the unorganized, unskilled, often foreign-born worker. Everywhere they possessed influence, they held up the beacon of labor's potential power and dignity, its need to unite against common oppressors, and its destiny to rebuild the social order. Among important sectors of workers they gained an enthusiastic following. They brought under their banner native-born small-town workers, miners, lumberjacks, tenant farmers, railroad men and petty merchants who saw capitalism destroying the old American ideals and accepted the Socialists as proper successors to Tom Paine and Abe Lincoln. They also helped make a New World home for German, Jewish, Finnish, Italian and Slav immigrants, among others, touched by labor and radical ideas in the old country.

Accomplishments.

During the second decade of the century, the Socialists elected hundreds of local officials in virtually every state outside the deep South, and carried the Socialist message into state legislatures and Congress. Once in office, they provided honest government and improved services—what the cynics called "Sewer Socialism." And they also took a strong stand in support of industrial unionism, woman suffrage and other important reform causes of the day. Sometimes they personally escorted Pinkertons and scabs out of town; almost always they

would guarantee a "fair fight" instead of the police intimidation that strikers customarily faced.

But the Socialists could not build the permanent, large-scale political movement created by the contemporary European left. In the U.S., the rules of the political game changed swiftly and subtly. Also, the working class that Socialists had begun to reach remained divided into dozens of discrete ethnic and geographic sectors, unintegrated for the most part into electoral politics and mobilized effectively in the first instance for better wages and conditions. And the World War threw confusion and oppression across the movement.

Limits.

The limits of Socialist potential were first pointed up by the resurgence of reform politics. Socialists who had believed all reactionaries would line up in the Republican Party, and that the petit-bourgeois Democratic Party would wither away, confronted by 1912 a multitude of local and national "progressive" reformers, symbolically led by Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose campaign for president. And the approach of world war placed new weapons in the hands of their political enemies.

While profits boomed, politicians could arrange for important reforms, while "patriotically" supporting the suppression of Socialists and labor radicals in the courts and by vigilante squads. They could even offer AFL unions limited sanction to organize—if they would disown Socialist ideas and support the war. AFL leaders caved in, local Socialist officials lost to "fusion" and "good government" tickets set up by the major parties, while many radicals muted their dissent to stay out of prison.

Neither did Socialists find the means to relate decisively the record-breaking strike wave of 1915-19 to a political strategy. Strikers willing to fight for their lives on picket lines did not necessarily view electoral politics as a viable addition to their arsenal. "The economic theories of Socialism have found a welcome on a good many door mats, since the War," a radical union journalist wrote in 1919, "but the political phase of Socialism has become a joke in America." This was an overstatement. But certainly politics, even with a modest resurgence of local Socialist success in 1917-20, could not keep pace with the drama of labor events culminating in the national steel strike and the Seattle general strike of 1919.

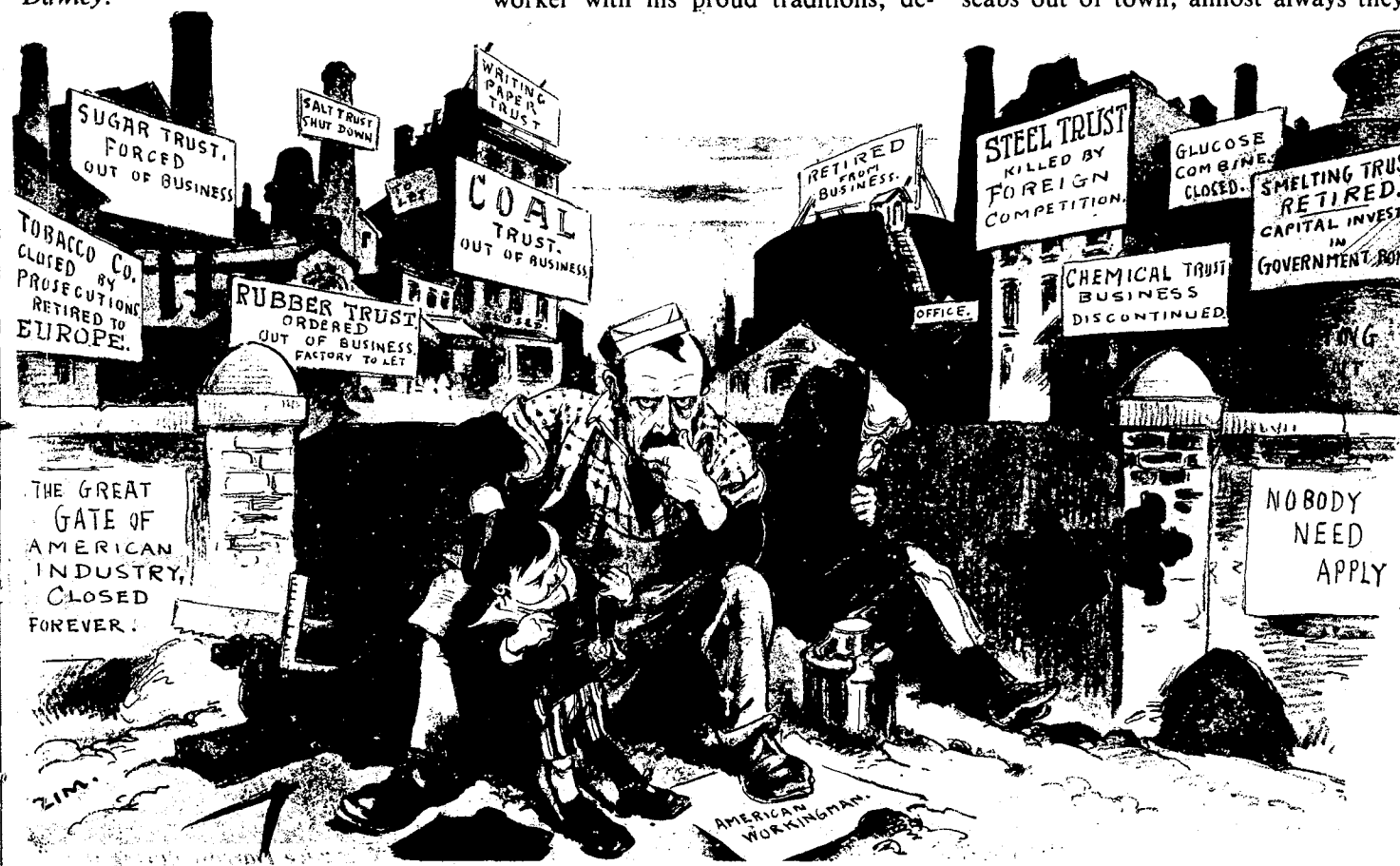
Consequences.

At the call of the Russian Bolsheviks for a new International, Socialists fell upon each other in fratricidal conflict. Feuds, splits and expulsions, with the national "Red Scare," drove away much of the rank-and-file while convincing many Americans that Socialists and Communists constituted a wild and exotic political species. Long-standing supporters emerged from the maelstrom tired and often disillusioned.

Even had a powerful Socialist movement entered the post-War era intact, it would have confronted serious difficulties. American capitalism, now the strongest in the world, rolled back labor's wartime victories. Dissident movements like the regional farmer-labor parties, the ethnic labor activists and the black militant following of Marcus Garvey seemed destined to go their separate ways.

The influence of the federal government in state and local matters as demonstrated during World War I, the increasing power of corporate financing over political campaigns and a multitude of other factors brought the underlying assumptions of Socialist electoral tactics into question. The decision of Communists to follow labor into the New Deal coalition of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Democratic Party of the mid-'30s pointed up an alternative (with its own dilemmas) that Socialists had never envisioned. The goal of radical education, from economics to culture, would have to be pursued in very different ways.

Paul Buhle is director of the Oral History of the American Left, Tamiment Library, New York University.



Scarcity and the angry citizen

The Lean Years

By Richard J. Barnet
Simon & Schuster, 349 pp.,
\$12.95

By William K. Tabb

Richard Barnet here demonstrates that we have reached the point where shortsighted profiteering is destroying the equilibrium of primary ecological cycles and the resource capacity of the planet, plundering and overloading the earth's regenerative capacities.

The Lean Years is a fine synthesis of the literature of scarcity, how it is created, perpetuated and used to consolidate profit and power positions. Barnet discusses oil, energy, minerals, food and water, as well as the new international military order and the global factory. He places the struggle over resources in the context of the specific dynamics of capitalist expansion.

Barnet has his finger on the American pulse. The new mood, he writes, "is no conventional

ed more minerals since 1950 than were mined in all previous history, "a splurge of a millisecond in geologic time that cannot be long repeated without using up the finite riches of the earth."

On food: "The fact that people are hungry is due less to insufficient food production than to maldistribution." It is rather simple. Modernization is not class neutral. It can mean soybeans for export, winter strawberries for the rich and starvation for the landless. It can also mean destruction of the soil from chemical fertilizers of diminishing potency and dangerous dependence on sensitive new seed strains and other commer-

them as social policy.

The way capitalist economics works in concrete situations is the strongest insight of this book. For example, an ore for geologists is a mineral that "can be recovered at a profit." In dollar volume, commodity speculation is the world's biggest industry. The connection between military adventurism and bottom-line economics is simple. It is not a matter of conspiracies, although these certainly abound, but of rational decision-making along business lines.

Malnutrition, Barnet writes, "is the hidden holocaust of our day. It is avoidable, and because it is avoidable, it is as much an in-

profit-making and a recurring political weapon. Besides, there are no starving nations in the world. As Barnet reminds us, "Malnourished Prime Ministers (except from overeating) or hungry generals do not exist any-

**Barnet says
energy, food
and water
supplies are
political issues.**

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 7, 1980 13
form in, to Third World nations. Ending military aid is perhaps the key to land reform.

The military. Do you know that one-third of all jet fuel consumed in the U.S. is used by the military? Or that a third of the 1979 global investment in military systems, \$400 billion a year, is spent in the Third World? And that the Third World itself is the headquarters home of 34 of the Fortune "overseas 500" with Taiwanese building steel mills in Nigeria and Hong Kong banks buying a controlling interest in the Marine Midland Bank?

Jobs.

Barnet argues that there is a looming world unemployment crisis of horrendous proportions. The connections between the spread of transnational capital, the weakened position of labor unions, and the squeezing of workers' standards of living are well described. The way capitalist managers control scarcity to justify higher prices and discipline workers and suppliers needs to be seen as a political question, one of the choices about the way societies are organized. It is the great virtue of his work that Barnet makes this



Diane Schmidt

cially profitable and ecologically disastrous products.

Trends.

The trends toward capital-intensive, job-destroying technologies, the irrational waste of energy, the high social cost of profitability in the nuclear cycle—from dead uranium miners to disposal of waste problems to nuclear terror—are all reviewed. Barnet demonstrates that when a society buys an energy system, it is not just making technical choices. Energy choices are about values.

"The triumph of the oil companies has been," as Barnet describes, "their ability to use the public frustration and confusion to discredit the idea of government at the very moment when planning in the public interest is so obviously needed for survival." He explains why and how federal efforts fail and explores the logic of alternative strategies: government take-over of the import process, ending the control of alternative energy sources by oil companies, a public corporation for yardstick control, a transition to renewable sources.

We have come to understand that our water is being polluted at an alarming rate. Barnet tells us that we'd best join those also thinking about the problem of running out of water. It takes us thousands of gallons to produce a pound of beef and more than 100,000 gallons to make a car. (The average North American uses 200 times as much water as Africans in semi-arid regions.) In many parts of the U.S. water is already a major political concern. Iceberg harvesting and other exotica are being discussed, and again conservation and common sense usage are available for those who would adopt

dictment of this generation of bystanders as Hitler's Holocaust stands as an indictment of the East." Now who likes to hear that sort of thing? And besides, some readers may respond, what does he expect me to do about it? "Well-fed people exhibit the same need to avert their eyes as did the good Germans." All right, already.

People say they want to know what's wrong. *Lean Years* tells them. Deliberate starvation has been both a simple policy of

where." The nature of the food hierarchy is as interesting as the drive of agribusiness. Root and coarse grain cultures are different from rice or wheat cultures with consequences for food policy. Barnet helps to place meat eaters in the world's food hierarchy.

If nutrition is the most basic human right, and feeding the hungry a biblical injunction, what is needed is not the missionary basket but getting agribusiness out, and structural re-

crystal clear.

One can criticize Barnet's need to touch every base, to spread himself thin, to make some errors, attributing basic Marx to Braverman, for example (the labor theory of value and the origin of exploitation, no less!). But finally, this book is an impressive synthesis. It is an important work, solidly researched and well written.

William K. Tabb is a New York City economist who teaches at Queens College.

Short Notice

Buy This Book: A Charter Member of the Me Generation Sticks Up for the Slandered Seventies

By Pete Wagner
P.O. Box 14005, Dinkytown Sta., Minneapolis, MN, 216 pp. \$6.95

Irreverent guide to the *real* children of the '60s—socially conscious youth slapped with the "Me Generation" label. Wagner has a Midwest reputation for outrageous, critical cartooning. This book combines a retrospective of his work over the decade and advice for '70s youths who would be leftists in the '80s. Here's a "rule for post-'60s activists": "Burn Your Enemies Lists—Most people are already on our side, they just don't know it yet." And one of his "commandments": "Thou shalt risk thine ass for a good cause."

PA

Bombs Away: A Primer on Defense Spending and National Insecurity

By Greg Specter

Traprock Peace Center, Keets Road, Deerfield, MA 01342, 20 pp., \$7.50.

This attractive and informative pamphlet gathers the basic facts concerning the arms race and demonstrates that the huge war budget continues to have a deleterious impact on the American economy. Specter dismantles myths concerning Soviet military superiority and, in a section of special importance in light of recent Carter administration pronouncements, explains why the notion of winning a "limited" nuclear war is madness. Unions, community organizations, churches and anti-nuclear groups will want this publication.

DRR

Clarence Darrow: A Sentimental Rebel

By Arthur and Lila Weinberg
Putnam's, 462 pp., \$17.95

With the publication of this, the fourth recent full-scale biography of Darrow, one suspects that we need more attorneys like Darrow and fewer studies of his life. Nonetheless, this is an engross-

ing, though episodic, book written by a couple whose obvious respect for their subject shines through in each chapter. In charting the life of Darrow, the great defender of socialists and unionists, of anarchists and evolution, the Weinbergs rightly emphasize that Darrow was, above all, an advocate of the dispossessed.

DRR

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, David Roediger.



Clarence Darrow during the Scopes trial

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

MOVIES



Nice guys finish film

By Don McLeese

Not simply another concert film, *No Nukes* is helped quite a bit by the fact that it has a message. No matter how impressive an array of talent may seem, performances that can be irresistibly exciting live are almost invariably rendered numbingly static on the big screen.

The makers of *No Nukes* have wisely refrained from attempting a note-by-note cinematic equivalent of any of the highly successful anti-nuclear Madison Square Garden concerts. Its series of quick-cut interludes—pre-show planning and press conferences, backstage banter, documentary footage, etc.—both keeps the entertainment sequen-

ces sprightly and allows the message to flow naturally from the music. Rarely does the camera linger longer than it should.

As a quick survey of the assembled talent indicates, one's appreciation of the music will necessarily be conditioned by how one feels about rock's Class of '72. For anyone who still considers the era of the earnest singer-songwriter to be some sort of Golden Era, *No Nukes* represents a wealth of "super-session" delights. There's James Taylor and Carly Simon doing their best Bobby and Joanie update on "The Times They Are a-Changin'." There's Taylor trading verses with the Doobie Brothers' Michael McDonald on a surprisingly spunky "Takin' It to the Streets"

with Nicolette Larson contributing background vocals. There's Jesse Colin Young and Jackson Browne harmonizing on "Let's Get Together." There's yet another Crosby, Stills and Nash reunion.

What there isn't is much 1980-style dynamism. Not much flash; not much fire. Those whose tastes aren't quite so

blandly post-collegiate must be content with a snippet of Joy Rider-Avis Davis' "No More Nukes," the token jazz of Gil Scott-Heron's "We Almost Lost Detroit" and an exhilaratingly healthy dose of Bruce Springsteen and the E Street Band.

Springsteen's three-song descent into the rock maelstrom is unquestionably the film's high point. The feverish sense of commitment that he brings to "The River" (at last word, the title song from his forthcoming album) makes everything that has preceded it seem comparatively effete. While "Thunder Road" gets bogged down in a little too much call-and-response sloppiness (as with so many concert sequences, I guess you had to be there), he redeems himself thoroughly with a no-holds-bar-

Left: *The Class of '72* (Hall, Nash, Taylor and Simon); below: *Bruce Springsteen*.



red assault on Gary "U.S." Bonds' "Quarter to Three." More excitement such as this (where's that Mitch Ryder medley of Springsteen's that sounded so good on the soundtrack?) would have provided a far more compelling testament to the powers of natural energy than all the neo-folkie good intentions that surround it.

Be that as it may, the political thrust of the film is handled quite effectively. Whatever one may think of the *No Nukes* performers musically, they almost all come across as pretty likable people. It's nice to know that Jackson Browne has a sense of humor. It's fun to watch Carly Simon enjoying herself on stage. It's refreshing to see that Bonnie Raitt is as unaffected as her image has always suggested—her on-stage reference to Ralph Nader as "that wild guy" shows a real descriptive flair.

By portraying the performers as people first, the film personalizes the nuclear issue in a way that goes beyond polemics or propaganda. When Graham Nash worries about his family's future or when Jackson Browne asserts that "I have a right to know why my life's being endangered by someone's profit margin," it's obvious that this is politics from the heart.

No Nukes should go a ways toward awakening all who see it. By restricting its musical range, however, it may end up preaching mainly to the already converted.

Don McLeese reviews rock music for the *Chicago Sun-Times*. Coming up: A report on MUSE and anti-nuclear fundraising.

Class wars at finishing school

By Rachel Kranz

If you've already seen *My Brilliant Career*, you may be tempted to skip *The Getting of Wisdom* (Atlantic Releasing Corporation). After all, how many films do you need to see about an adolescent Australian girl's confrontation with restrictive turn-of-the-century attitudes toward class and sex?

But if you liked *Career*, you'll love *Wisdom*. The film offers a complex, comic and disturbing look at how the most rebellious of us assimilate the very codes against which we rebel.

Laura Rambotham (Susanah Fowle) is quickly marked by the other girls at her elite fin-

ishing school as poor and socially inferior. Laura is torn between a burning desire to be accepted and her innate, unacceptable flamboyance.

The film avoids two easy ways out of the conflict. It might have shown Laura as the proud, unbending rebel, untouched by society's demands. Or it could have shown that, by "being herself," Laura ultimately wins the others over. Instead, *Wisdom* shows that Laura does assimilate the class values of the school, coming to view her own background as backward and contemptible. Yet much as she wants to be accepted, she must always remain too much herself. Even against her own wishes, Laura's independent spirit prevails.

We are shown both that the snobbish teachers encourage the girls to compete socially, and that the teachers themselves suffer the strictures then common to unmarried genteel women. The very student who most torments Laura herself lives in fear of being exposed as a "tradesman's daughter."

The Getting of Wisdom is based on the novel of the same name by H.H. Richardson, an author newly familiar to American readers via Tillie Olsen's citation of her in *Silences*. I'm told that the book, despite being a minor classic in Australia, is out of print in this country. It deserves better; perhaps the film will inspire renewed interest in Richardson and her work.

Schoolhouse on the prairie

By Rachel Kranz

Don't Shoot the Teacher (Quartet Films) is a delight: playful, evocative, intelligent. The film has enjoyed huge popular success in its native Canada, ranking second only to *Jaws* in national box office records.

Teacher is the story of Max Brown, a painfully young first-year teacher forced by the Depression to leave the city for a one-room schoolhouse on the Saskatchewan prairie. Max must face not only a roomful of skeptical kids, but also a long, lonely winter in an isolated, impoverished community. This all makes *Teacher* sound rather dreary; it's not. The film consistently finds wild humor in Max's initiation into prairie life without belittling

either him or the hard-headed, tenacious farmers whose children he teaches.

Bud Cort, best remembered for his starring role in *Harold and Maude*, gives Max just the right blend of innocence, earnestness and sterling good intentions. We keep expecting him either to be crushed or to lose his youthful idealism, and we're both moved and vastly amused when he does neither.

The culmination of Max's year in Bleke is his confrontation with a stuffy city school inspector. We expect Max to be devastated by the inspector's blanket denunciation of him and his "ignorant" pupils. Instead, Max literally seizes the inspector by the coattails in an effort to connect with him. "You don't know anything about rural life!" he exclaims.

"Why don't you have curriculum to teach these kids to value themselves and their environment? Why don't you spend some time here and we'll learn together!" The combination of outrage and honest puzzlement is at once funny and admirable.

Don't Shoot the Teacher avoids sentimentality as well. Prairie life has its moments of color and community, like an all-night dance at the schoolhouse. (It's great fun to watch the hefty, impassive farm women dance poor Max into exhaustion.) It is also lonely, difficult and cruel, as we see when one farmer, barely able to feed his kids, finally loses his land. Because of its respect for its characters, *Don't Shoot the Teacher* brings the pain and humor in

Rachel Kranz is a Boston writer.

CALENDAR

NEW YORK, N.Y.

October-November

The fall semester of the SCHOOL FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM includes classes on The Family, NYC Politics, Making of the American Working Class, History of the American Socialist Party and more by Herbert Guttman, Ron Radosh, Ruth Messinger, Kate Ellis and others. Classes limited, so call or write today for details. School, 125 W. 72nd St., New York, NY 10023, (212) 787-1691.

October 6

Economist/author Robert Lekachman will speak on "THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE 1980 ELECTION" at 7:30 p.m. at the School for Democratic Socialism, 125 W. 72nd St., NYC. \$3 admission. For more information call (212) 787-1691.

October 10

THE BOLIVIAN COUP, a discussion with the Bolivian filmmaker Jack Avila. Also, a showing of Antonio Egúñiz's Bolivian film, "Chiquiango," 7:30 p.m. Friday at John Jay College, 445 W. 59th St., NYC. Admission \$2.00.

CHICAGO, ILL.

October 6

"FEMINISM, CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM IN ITALY," a talk by Giglia Tedesco, a Communist senator in the Italian Parliament. At noon at Garret Evangelical Theological Seminary, 2121 Sheridan, Evanston; and at 7:00 p.m. at Mc-

Cormick, 5555 South Woodlawn, Chicago.

October 11

"MURAL TOUR OF SOUTHSIDE CHICAGO" with Astrid Fuller, a Chicago muralist. Background history of the mural movement as well as stories about individual murals. Saturday, from 2:00-5:00. \$2.00 fee. Call 871-7700 for reservations (by Oct. 8). Sponsored by NAM.

PITTSBURGH, PA

October 10-12

NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE FOR SAFE ENERGY AND FULL EMPLOYMENT. Sponsored by 6 AFL-CIO Unions—the Machinists, Chemical Workers, Graphic Arts, Service Employees, Woodworkers and Furniture Workers—as well as the UAW, Mineworkers, Longshoremen and Warehousemen, and the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, this conference will seek to educate and activate the trade union movement in the struggle for safe energy and full employment. \$15 Registration. Any trade unionist welcome. Contact: Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 16th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20036. (202) 265-7190.

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

Smith

Continued from page 16.

when Indians were on the war-path, blacks were lynched in the South and laborers committed bizarre crimes in the North.

But suppose a country has the option to get both hardware and software under its own control. It then faces bedeviling questions of how to employ it. Should a poor country adopt high-gear technology? Will it ever get a second chance if it passes up the first one? What is "appropriate technology" for a poor nation today? One of Smith's devastating mini-analyses is his look at India's use of mass media. He makes a good case that the "thoughtless transplantation" of First World media styles serves only India's urban elite and deepens the social division that information, properly distributed, could diminish.

How about alternatives to corporate reportage of international news? Smith considers Tass (ponderously rhetorical), the Inter Press Service, a Latin American-based news service

whose estimable value is undercut by its shaky finances, and the Non Aligned News Pool, established in 1976. He decides that all combined are no match for the big five. But he is careful not to give that fact a paranoid cast.

"The problem really lies outside the control of the agencies," he maintains, "in the West's pre-existing image of the developing world built of its own frustrated hopes, and the selfishness and paternalism of history. It is what the agencies and Western journalism as a whole do inadvertently that is the trouble."

Data processing.

Information isn't power, he knows, but you can conceptualize world politics as if it were. And he envisions a world in long-term hock to IBM. IBM owns 70 percent of all computer installations in the world. These computers, when linked up to satellites, provide such 1984 wonders as electronic mail and banking. Their capacities leapfrog across international boundaries—especially when deregulation in the U.S. and Western Europe takes the lid off their international growth.

Smith explains the game

behind Satellite Business Systems, a corporation formed by IBM, Comsat (the satellite corporation that is now domestic but will become international if the Van Deerlin bill passes in Congress) and the Aetna Life Insurance Company. SBS is challenging the current grip of AT&T on data processing and may, through free market arguments, win.

IBM is thus close to being able to swoop down anywhere in the world to install IBM computers that handle data processed through SBS and received on Comsat satellites. IBM's control over ground and sky hardware as well as software will limit competition, and IBM and its friends will be well above anybody's law. Unless they are restrained by sheer sweetness of character, privacy will be gone. Alternatives will disappear. And guess who will decide how much it costs.

Smith recommends that we stop before we sell the last vestiges of control over information to the multinationals. Information is a social resource; at the same time, it is today a world power game.

What to do? He doesn't have any magic solutions, although he notes that it behooves us to

pay attention to what the Third World countries have been saying on the issue. Journalists have a responsibility, he suggests, to become aware of the inequalities in information transfer. The most powerful limits on journalists concern not what they are permitted to write but what they wish to write. He also advocates that national governments defend themselves by recognizing the need for fair-

er information flow among nations and the need for control over multinationals.

But he's not holding his breath. "One should not speak of 'solutions,'" he cautions. Information inequality "is but one aspect of the whole problem of international domination, inequality and dependence."

And that's the way it is, on day 333 of the hostages to news coverage of Iran. ■

CULTURE SHOCK

WASTE NOT, WANT NOT

A Texas inventor offers the car and motorcycle rider the "Go-Cooker," which uses the heat from a car's engine to cook your dinner while you drive home.

COMRADE MICKEY

The Soviet Union has announced the completion of its own Disneyland-style amusement park.



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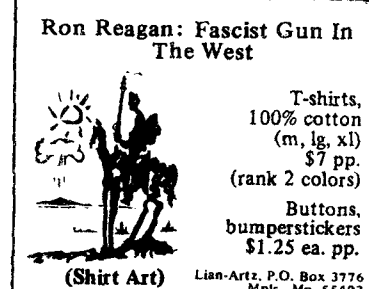
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RECORDS

"A SMALL GEM," said Ron Radosh (ITT, July 16-29) reviewing FOLK/COUNTRY SONGS OF THE FDR YEARS. Fine old union rousers, Depression woes, Jim Crow blues, songs arguing WWII, Woody's superb Tom Joad. \$6.35 to Roy Berkeley, Shaftsbury, VT 05262.

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The Geopolitics of Information: How Western Culture Dominates the World
By Anthony Smith
Oxford University Press, 192 pp., \$13.95

THEY'RE ALWAYS RIOTING IN Africa. It's always flooding in the Philippines, too, while they're revolting in Latin America and starving in Asia. Our images of the rest of the world are disconcertingly consistent. It's no accident that they are, either. In fact, the international struggle for power is being waged with news stories, with bands on the radio wave spectrum and with computer chips.

It's a fast-changing situation, and Anthony Smith has just written the best—the most informed and most reasonable, if not always the most pithy—introduction to the issues. Director of the British Film Institute and author of the recent *Goodbye Gutenberg: The Newspaper Revolution of the 1980s*, he provides a political context for issues of information flow such as deregulation, privacy in data processing and news definition.

Information is at the center of the world economy, he argues. In the U.S. alone, since the 1950s, telephone companies have provided a quarter of all new public equity. Telecommunication is growing three times as fast as the economy as a whole. And the information business, from its home base at IBM headquarters, is tentaculating its way around the world at a rate that would have buffaloed a science fiction writer only two decades ago.

The information business is a product and a part of longstanding relationships of empire and dependence. Freedom of the press, one of the most basic tenets of Western democracies, is also in practice one of the basic tools of capitalist expansion and of cultural imperialism. The governments of poor nations have not let that fact slip by them. But their only ready alternative, practiced in socialist countries, is governmental control over information, a.k.a. censorship.

The issue is old, but both politics and technology are pushing us toward a crisis. In the wake of Vietnam's challenge to American supremacy, Third World nations began to raise issues of inequality in information flow. Discussion in two arenas—the UN and the World Administrative Radio Conferences of the International Telecommunication Union—brought the problems that Smith looks at out in the open. UN meetings resulted in a 1978 Declaration of Mass Media calling for a "free and balanced flow" of information. The WARC conferences, which are supposed to allocate parts of the spectrum, have bogged down with Third World nations' insistence on more room on the band,

more space on satellites and more control over reception.

Perhaps the most useful function of both arenas was raising the issue. Smith is not starry-eyed about proposals put forward by Third World governments. About the demands that make up the UN's "New International Information Order" he writes, "Seldom can the charter of a great political cause have been so mean in spirit, so ungenerous in sentiment, so obsessively petty, so insistent on the obligations of others and so niggardly in ascribing difficult duties to its own adherents." But he also recognizes the difficulty of finding a third alternative to the "free flow," to-the-victor-the-spoils doctrine and Idi Amin-style information-by-fiat.

One of the reasons Smith's perspective stays sober is his historical understanding. His description of the rise of international news agencies, for example, showing how they shape our concepts of foreign countries and of the news, is fascinating.

Capitalism has always been an information system too; with worldwide growth in the 19th century went the telegraph and cable. Close behind were businesses that transformed newspaper publishing: news agencies. Three—Reuters of England, Wolff of Germany and Havas of France (now Agence France-Presse)—developed to feed colonialists'

need for commercial information and to produce stories of high imperial drama for the folks at home. They provided a cheap solution to the highly expensive alternative of sending out your own correspondent and paying for him to wire the story.

These days five agencies—Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, AFP and the Soviet Union's Tass—cover the globe. Sort of. Their coverage reflects the priorities of big business.

The Empire of Information

By Pat Aufderheide

Together they deploy 34 percent of their correspondents in the U.S. Only 21 percent handle all of Latin America, the Middle East and Africa.

The history of news agencies poses the international information issues in brief: corporations in the imperial strongholds control the hardware, the software and the next gambit.

The expense of setting up an agency—UPI hasn't returned a dividend in two decades; and AP is a cooperative that just breaks even—is such that Third World nations can rarely compete. When

they do, their fate can be that of Agence Zaire-Presse, which depends on word of mouth from the interior, on walkie-talkie communication within the capital, and is an international laughingstock for its reliability.

The news agencies control content as well as the medium. The shape of the news is a little map of power. Smith recounts a study of the image of Guyana in news agencies' reports of the Jim Jones massacre. Not only were there only the lightest references to the country in which the incident took place, but images of underdevelopment were simply borrowed where reporters didn't know. We were told, for instance, that the Guyanese were illiterate, although Guyana has 85 percent literacy, and that people speak "pidgin," although Guyanese English is a pure, if distinct, strain.

Employees of news agencies can be expected to feed back to their boss the kind of "news of exception"—revolution, famine, disaster—that is in the Western tradition of news about the other. But the problem goes deeper. Other journalists also learn to define what international news is from the agencies. Perhaps that explains why the independence of Surinam was buried in the middle of major Latin American newspapers, while on the same days they covered celebrity stories from Hollywood.

The issue is an old one. For instance, in the 19th century Americans were regularly outraged at Reuters' coverage of American news. As far as the agency was concerned, we were only interesting

Continued on page 15.

**The whole world
is watching**

and listening

**to a few sources
of news. But the
audience
is restless.**

